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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

FOUNDERS' day was commemorated at the University of Manchester on Wednesday, the 15th of May, in the Whitworth Hall, when the customary ceremonial was observed, and honorary degrees were conferred upon Sir Raymond Unwin, Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, Dr. A. G. Little, and Dr. A. C. Haddon.

In opening the proceedings the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, announced that Professor Stopford had become the Vice-Chancellor of the University: "It is a happy augury," said Lord Crawford, "that this appointment should have been made upon a day when he can receive a welcome from every branch and section of the University. Professor Stopford takes over these new duties with great assets and notable qualifications, which are going to carry him triumphantly through. His university experience is, of course, as wide as that of anybody. His interest in extra-mural education has given him a wideness and a diversity of outlook which is useful to our University itself, and I am pleased to-day, in the presence of half a dozen representatives of municipal boroughs—our valuable allies in the promotion of higher education in this part of our county—to say that Professor Stopford, like his predecessors, has a profound sense of civic duty, which, as I say, will keep alive and profitable this alliance between the University and civic life, to which I attach the very greatest importance—a new Vice-Chancellor, who is wise in counsel, equally catholic in his outlook, and, accidentally, a Lancashire man, educated at our own Lancashire University.

"He takes up a post which carries as its burden great and onerous responsibilities. I for one have complete confidence in

his ability to fulfil that task, and I ask you, one and all, to do your utmost to help him to carry the burden, to show him your goodwill, and to give him your support and your unfailing collaboration."

The honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor for their degrees by Professor J. L. Stocks, in the following felicitous terms :—

Sir Raymond Unwin (Doctor of Laws) : " I present to you an architect who habitually thinks in terms not of houses but of towns and cities, and has brought many others, not in England merely but all over the world, to his way of thinking. He has revived and renewed the lost art of town-planning, too late to save us from those outrages upon art and nature which our fathers bequeathed to us as industrial towns, but in time to adorn their fringes with some semblance of order and dignity. He has himself planned garden cities and suburbs at York, Letchworth, and Hampstead ; but much of his work has been covered by the anonymity of the Government service. From his key position as Chief Housing Architect to the Ministry of Health he was able to influence powerfully the housing developments of the whole country. He will advise anyone—even London—on town-planning, and is the inevitable president of any international conference on his subject.

" Though he has presided with distinction over the British architects and has reluctantly accepted a knighthood, he seems positively to enjoy anonymity, and even now would rather have me speak to you about Wythenshawe than about himself. In his spare time, as a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, he grapples eagerly with the parallel problem of international anarchy, working for world-planning through the League of Nations. We salute in him the tried friend of a great idea, who does not count the cost of service but takes full account of facts and has proved his faith by works."

Professor Lascelles Abercrombie (Doctor of Letters) : " I present to you a former ornament of our own society, who studied chemistry, but refused to imperil his interest in the subject by presenting himself for examination, and by his subsequent career has refuted the view that all charms fly at the mere touch of cold philosophy : a poet who does not fear to explore the woof

and texture of the rainbow, and a critic whose sympathy with the romantics does not preclude a decisive rejection of their creed. He has been a member of the staff of three universities and an occasional lecturer in most others. He holds degrees in Arts, Letters and Laws ; but all are honorary. His extensive literary output is almost equally divided between criticism and creation : his essays in either kind, standing alone, would have sufficed to found a solid reputation. Alone among living writers he has a volume to himself in the series of Oxford Poets.

" His criticism is direct and penetrating, free from jargon and technicalities ; his fine taste, wide reading, and profound grasp of principle guide him straight to the great issues. He writes for all to read. He is a good friend and a dangerous opponent ; a formidable speaker, and always ready to do battle for a cause. A powerful compound, in brief, of poet, critic, and crusader, of which the chemists of his first university seek the formula in vain. From my own unsystematic researches I would offer as a clue a line from one of his own poetic dramas—

'But prudence, prudence is the deadly sin.' "

Doctor Andrew George Little (Doctor of Letters) : " The debt of Europe to the Middle Ages, long denied, has been amply established by a succession of great specialists to which our own University has given its quota ; and for this, as for our contribution to it, no one living has more responsibility than the monster of learning whom I present to you. As a very young man he grasped the significance of the Franciscan movement—practical men whose insistence on the primacy of the practical reason worked as a purge on the mediæval schools and through men of genius like Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon made way for the later triumphs of the empirical method. In a massive series of studies he has worked all this out to the last detail. At the thin end of his wedge we find the ' Grey Friars of Oxford,' published in 1892 ; at the other end his foundation, the Society of Franciscan Studies, with the score of imposing volumes he has helped it to issue. He may by now have forgotten the ten years of his youth when he directed a university department, but he has always remained true to the Franciscan spirit in his remembering of the practical end.

"Here his class in palæography was pioneer work in post-graduate instruction. Publicly through the Royal Historical Society and other bodies, privately by personal suggestion and advice, his influence has permeated the historical schools. The great founder of the Franciscan Order might well be suspicious of so much learning, but he would surely rejoice to recognise a humanity as sensitive and as generous as his own."

Doctor Alfred Cort Haddon (Doctor of Science): "This soother of the savage breast whom I present to you was elected to a professorship in Dublin in zoology no less than fifty-five years ago. His love for the primitive there found a vent in embryology, but he was irresistibly drawn to primitive man, and for the last thirty-five years has been happily conducting and inspiring anthropological study and research in his first University of Cambridge. A famous expedition to the Torres Straits focussed a battery of sciences on primitive life, producing reports which rank as anthropological classics. All his field-work has distinction from the wide range of his scientific interests, supported by his singular success in winning the goodwill of the tribes in which he worked. Of this success his own inadequate explanation is that he was always careful to arm himself with a piece of string and a knowledge of the principles of cat's cradle.

"Seeing no great gulf between savagery and civilisation, he has found the data and principles of anthropology of value for the interpretation of Irish and English custom and folk-lore. He is known for a love of innocent mischief and for his skill in exploiting the social possibilities of these travellers' tales of science. He is now very near to his eightieth birthday. Anticipating the event by some ten days we offer him our homage and our congratulations, rejoicing to see him still full of work, and hoping that he may long remain with us to preserve the reputation of anthropology as the most entertaining of all the sciences."

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates Professor Abercrombie said: "We are all now unequivocally members of this famous University. I say 'unequivocally' because I am thinking of myself. If I may

glance at a personal matter, as the orator has already revealed it, for many years it was my special pleasure to call this great University my Alma Mater, but, in fact, the relationship between this University and myself was until now a little equivocal. It is true I was a student here. It is true that the University somehow omitted then to bestow a degree upon me. I do not wish to unsay what I have said on the subject of prudence, but I think on the whole that fact redounds to the credit both of the University and of myself. At least Owens College, as it was then, taught me sufficient prudence not to sit for my examination, but this makes particularly keen my personal sense of the honour which—and this is an added honour to me—I share with my fellow-graduates. A doctorate conferred by the University of Manchester, and conferred wholly by its own motion, is, indeed, a signal distinction.

" It is not that I speak with the partiality of a native of Manchester. As a native of Manchester I might allow myself to say things which a mere visitor out of politeness might hesitate to say. There is, for instance, or there is thought to be, something noticeable in our atmosphere. The true son of Manchester does not attempt to deny it. Rather he says with Solomon, ' Where no oxen are the crib is clean.' But what is in our minds now is that for many generations, throughout the world, the name of Manchester has stood not merely for a city great in traffic and business but for a city of great ideas. No English name bears everywhere a more characteristic significance. The spirit of Manchester has always been essentially a creative spirit, creative intellectually as well as materially. Witness those many movements, political and scientific, which have had their inspiration in Manchester."

Professor Abercrombie recalled sitting as a child in church behind a " devout old gentleman of nobly venerable appearance " —James Prescott Joule,—and said he could not forbear mentioning two names celebrated in literature always associated with the University of Manchester, two men of most original genius, George Gissing and Francis Thomson, both of whom, he believed, failed to graduate at Manchester. " We are more fortunate, and to be sealed with the approval—this splendid scarlet

approval—of the University of Manchester is to be fortunate indeed."

Sir Raymond Unwin, who also responded, said: the University had reversed or amended a cause of great distress he occasioned his father when a young man. His father took his degree at Oxford late in life to inspire his two sons to follow his example and take a university degree. At the somewhat early age of seventeen he (Sir Raymond) decided he was not well equipped to follow academic learning and to strike out in a new line. "You understand what a pleasure it is to me to feel you have made good my father's wish for me which I shirked at the time."

Moreover, in conferring that degree they had, he said, in a way been honouring courses the city of Manchester provided for his education when he came here as a young man of twenty-one and spent two years in an engineers' drawing office. At that time (1885) for a young man who had, at any rate, acquired such knowledge of academic knowledge as led him to respect the difficulty of it and who had imbibed from Ruskin a considerable taste for economic theories sometimes associated with the name of Manchester, he did not know how justly, to come to Manchester was a liberal education.

At that time Ford Madox Brown was painting two of his frescoes—one representing the "Dream of Chetham" and the other the "Trial of Wyclif" in the Manchester Town Hall. It was a red-letter day to him when William Morris took him to supper with Ford Madox Brown, and he "readily took up the more hopeful view of life William Morris propounded and served an apprenticeship in founding the Manchester branch of the William Morris Socialist League."

He soon got into another line of work, and his interests were changed to the building of coloured cottages, the laying out of estates for industrial purposes, the laying out of cities. "We found as planners that we always had a ragged edge between the planned area and the unplanned area, and so our ambitions got wider and wider. We wanted to get rid of that ragged edge, and we started planning, first little building sites, and then we planned suburbs, and then we tried to plan cities, and now we have reached a stage when we feel we shall not be satisfied until

we can get national planning, when there will be, in this country at any rate, no fringe but that of the ocean."

"I have told you this for a purpose," continued Sir Raymond. "As I see the world, after a pretty varied experience, I have come to the conclusion, both in regard to those economics and the Manchester School's interpretation, of which I have always had considerable doubt, and in regard to our land planning alike, that this generation that is now taking up control of the world is faced with a large and important problem of planning. I am going to ask you to consider," he continued, "whether we are adequately providing that particular type of training which will find the men who have the capacity for this new job of large-scale planning."

In this period there is a great call for men of that character, not only in the planning of land but the planning of our social order, a subject which had interested him, as much as it did in the times of Ruskin and Morris, all his life. He suggested that those who had to frame university courses should consider whether it was possible to provide courses, possibly post-graduate courses, which might better equip those whose work it would be to try to plan on a large scale. If the Manchester University could make a contribution in that direction it would be of great value at the present time.

THE YEAR'S WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. J. S. B. Stopford, F.R.S., in his review of the year's work before the Council of the University, over which Lord Crawford presided, took an interesting survey of developments in hand or in contemplation.

The Vice-Chancellor said he was glad that the foundations of the new library were now being laid. It was hoped to occupy the building in October next year. It would accommodate 300,000 books, and it was proposed at the outset to transfer the arts collection of 200,000 to that building and to leave the science collection in the Christie Library, which would remain as the Science Library. In addition to the accommodation for books there would be greatly increased accommodation for readers, which was badly needed. The accommodation would

be for 220 student readers and 80 advanced readers and research workers. The building would be one of five storeys, the upper two being the student readers' rooms and the lower floors stock-rooms. In two there would be desks for advanced readers, and also administrative offices. The building was so planned that extensions could be made which would suffice, it was hoped, for something like one hundred years ; and, allowing for normal increase, it was expected that the original building would accommodate the Arts library for a quarter of a century.

Planning for the library had brought into view again the general lay-out of Lime Grove. The architects had shown how it could be made a thing of beauty, which it was not at present. He looked forward to the time when they could adopt the plans of the architects, rehouse much more adequately many of the departments now in converted private houses, and so improve Lime Grove that visitors might linger there and enjoy the view.

The Vice-Chancellor expressed satisfaction with the work already done by the appointments board, which came into being in October and the object of which was to bring employers in commerce, administration, and the public services into contact with graduates requiring employment, and to gather information useful to both those bodies of people. He expressed the University's thanks in this matter for the great and valuable help and co-operation they had received from friends outside the University.

Dr. Stopford mentioned the installation of that wonderful instrument, the differential analyser, made possible by the generosity of the University's good friend Mr. Robert McDougall, and the rehousing of the Department for Deaf Education by the financial aid of the trustees of the late Lord Leverhulme. " It is quite impossible," he said, " to exaggerate the work done there by Dr. and Mrs. Ewing and Dr. Littler. Their discoveries, particularly with reference to hearing aids, have excited tremendous interest. I know of nowhere where both the psychological and the physiological aspects of the problem of aiding the deaf are being so effectively tackled."

Speaking of the conversion of the old Radium Institute, near the Royal Infirmary, into Lister House, a hall of residence

at which every medical student will after next October spend three months in the later part of his course, Dr. Stopford said this change would greatly enhance the clinical training given and would make possible important reforms in the later part of the medical curriculum, reforms which were in advance of anything that was being done elsewhere.

THE NEWLY-APPOINTED VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Professor John Sebastian Bach Stopford, M.D., F.R.S., who has occupied the Chair of Anatomy in the University of Manchester since 1919, and who was on the 15th of May appointed by the Court of the University to be Vice-Chancellor, at the early age of 46 years, is a Lancastrian, and was born at Hindley Green, near Wigan. He is an old boy of the Manchester Grammar School, and a graduate of Manchester University. It is probably unique that having entered the University as an undergraduate he has in unbroken succession passed through the various stages of graduation, membership of the assistant staff, appointment to a university chair, and now to the Vice-Chancellorship.

It is a mark of the esteem in which he is held that at each stage of the motion for Professor Stopford's appointment through Council, Senate, and Court the decision was an unanimous one.

We take this opportunity of wishing the Vice-Chancellor, and Mrs. Stopford, a long and happy tenure of the high office to which they have been called.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

We welcome the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor to a seat on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, as a representative of the University, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Sir Walter Moberly, upon his appointment to the chairmanship of the University Grants Committee.

At the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Library, held on the 25th of March, last, the Earl of Stamford, J.P., and Sir Christopher Needham, B.A., J.P., were appointed Trustees to fill vacancies on the Trust caused by the deaths of Professor A. S. Peake, D.D., and Mr. Gerald Nonus Ford, J.P.

The Board of nine Trustees is now composed of: The Marquis of Hartington, M.P.; the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., P.C.; the Earl of Stamford, J.P.; Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., LL.D.; Sir Henry Miers, D.Sc., F.R.S.; Sir Christopher T. Needham, B.A., J.P.; Sir Evan Spicer, J.P.; W. Arnold Linnell, and J. W. Marsden, J.P.

A VISIT TO HAIGH HALL.

On Monday, the 3rd of June, the Trustees and Governors of the John Rylands Library, with their ladies, and a party of friends of the institution, including the Vice-Chancellor, and other members of the professorial staff of the University, to the number of eighty persons, spent a most enjoyable afternoon at Haigh Hall, the Lancashire seat of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and one of the Rylands Trustees, who had extended to them a most cordial invitation to pay him a visit, in order to see some of the interesting things to be found in his library.

The guests were received and welcomed by the Earl and the Countess of Crawford, who for two hours were simply untiring in their efforts to share with them the beauties of the house, its furniture, and the fine collection of pictures by great masters that adorn its walls.

Lord Crawford had been at considerable trouble to display in exhibition cases, arranged in the various rooms, a selection of the rich, and unrivalled, collections of broadsides, tracts, and other literary treasures which fill the shelves in all parts of the house, and include many fine and historic bindings.

The exhibition included 169 items, of which a specially prepared catalogue was printed for distribution to the guests and headed "Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Homage to the John Rylands Library, 3rd June, 1935."

As an indication of the variety and interest of the items exhibited, we can only refer briefly to a few of them: English Indulgences, "The Round Robin to Dr. Johnson," products of the Jesuit Mission presses in Japan and China, and of the early Jesuit astronomers in China, early German and Italian illustrations, early playing cards, Spanish-American philology, Luther

tracts and sixteen rare quartos dealing with the death of Henry, Prince of Wales. Perhaps the most interesting group consisted of productions of the Vatican press, including a number of broadsheets illustrating Papal elections, among which were actual voting papers for the Papal election, and *poll lists of cardinals.*

It was an afternoon which will be memorable in the history of the Rylands Library, for it is the first time that any such gathering has been arranged outside its walls.

It may not be out of place to remind readers that the library at Haigh Hall, which is best known to scholars as the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana," takes rank among the few surviving great private libraries. It owes its fame and character to the foresight and scholarly judgment of the successive members of the House of Lindsay.

Haigh Hall stands upon a wooded hill commanding the town of Wigan and the surrounding country. It was built in 1830 by the 24th Earl of Crawford, and it was partly to furnish its bare walls that his son, in whom was revived the old Lindsay passion for book-collecting, began as a boy at Eton to gather the volumes which still fill several rooms and passages of the house. It was an old passion, for so long ago as the days of James VI of Scotland, John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, filled with books and historical papers the old mansion house of Balcarres, which he had purchased and brought into his family. He and his grandson, Alexander, the first Earl of Balcarres, friend of Drummond of Hawthornden and of Abraham Cowley, there built up the first Lindsay Library. It was later dispersed—the important historical manuscripts were given to the Advocates Library in 1712, and they are still preserved in what is now the National Library of Scotland, but the books were scattered. A few of the latter, enough to fill a couple of shelves at Haigh, have been recovered. But these hardly count in comparison with the collection begun by the 24th Earl, the Lord Lindsay of "Christian Art" fame, and his son the late Earl. In their hands the library grew to about one hundred thousand printed books, and the six thousand manuscripts which have now passed into the possession of the John Rylands Library.

Preserved among the papers at Haigh Hall is a vast letter of some 250 foolscap pages, written to the late Earl by his father, in 1864, in which he describes "the present state and future prospects of the Crawford or Balcarres Library, or what I presumptuously prefer to call 'the Lindsian Library'—the 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana'". The Earl's name is inscribed on the book-plate. The scheme is probably the most comprehensive that any private book-collector has ever formed in modern times, and we have ventured on several occasions to express the hope that the present Earl may some day find time to edit for the press this intensely interesting document.

The library was to be thoroughly representative of all the literatures of the world. It was to contain not everything, of course, but the best of everything "the best that has been known and thought in the world," if we may so apply Arnold's phrase. All the literatures of Europe were to be represented by the best poets and prose writers, in the best editions, both of those issued in the lifetime of the authors, and those of modern and critical ages. The literatures of the countries which have been slow in adopting printing were, for example, to be represented by the finest obtainable manuscripts. The history of each country was to be treated in the same way; so that on the shelves which contain the Italian collections, there are perhaps a thousand volumes of history, and twice as many of pure literature. Then there are certain special collections which give to the library a character of its own. Probably, nowhere in private hands are to be found such multitudes of broadsides, proclamations, English and Scottish ballads, papal bulls, civil war tracts, and seventeenth century newspapers and news-sheets. There is an extraordinary collection of Lutheran and Reformation tracts, probably the largest known collection of De Bry's Voyages, collections of incunabula, of early examples of the work of Scottish presses, and of other subjects too numerous to mention. The "Catalogue of the Printed Books preserved at Haigh Hall," which was issued for private circulation in 1910, fills four folio volumes, consisting of nearly five thousand printed pages. It was dedicated by the late Earl: "To the memory of my Father, my best and wisest of friends: and also to my son, Lord Balcarres (the present

Earl), to whom it is my joy to have been able to transmit the love of the 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana'."

Throughout the thirty-five years of the history of the Rylands Library there has been a very close relationship between the library at Haigh and that in Deansgate, and the visit of representatives of Rylands and of Manchester to Haigh on the 3rd of June, and the evident pleasure which it gave the Earl and the Countess of Crawford to entertain their guests are further instances of the continuance of the friendly feeling existing between the two great libraries.

BASIL CHAMPNEYS.

We regret to have to announce the death of Basil Champneys, the architect of the John Rylands Library, which took place at his home, Hall Oak, Frognal Lane, Hampstead, on Friday, the 5th of April, at the advanced age of 92 years.

The writer of the obituary notice which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on the 8th of April is so well informed, and so fittingly appreciative of the work of Mr. Champneys, that we venture to reprint the notice verbatim, with grateful acknowledgments :—

"Basil Champneys was the son of William Weldon Champneys, Dean of Lichfield, and brother of Sir Francis Henry Champneys, the eminent doctor. He was born in 1842 and was educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge. His architectural training was under John Pritchard, Diocesan Architect of Llandaff—'Honest John, who practised in the severest Gothic and roundly cursed everybody who didn't.'

"Basil Champneys began to practise in 1867. He was particularly distinguished for his mastery of the Gothic style and as a designer of collegiate buildings. His work at Oxford is, for the most part, admirably in keeping with the spirit of the place. It is true that the new Oriel building on the 'High' is far from successful and hard to imagine as being by the hand of the designer of the new work at Merton. Mansfield College is his most complete creation there, and he is also responsible for the Robinson Tower at New College, the library at Somerville College, and the Indian Institute.

"At Cambridge he built the divinity and literary schools, the archæological museum, and Newnham College, showing a mastery of brick design. At London the Bedford College for Women in Regent's Park, and his work at Harrow, Winchester College, and King's Lynn Grammar School prove the extent and versatility of his output and his supremacy as a planner of collegiate buildings.

"Amongst his churches may be mentioned St. Luke's, Kentish Town; St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford; St. Mary Star of the Sea, Hastings; and Slindon Church, Staffordshire, a charming, simple English country church. His sympathetic hand repaired—the word 'restored' is hardly suitable—many old churches, and he added the Victoria porch, the library and robing rooms, and the reredos at Manchester Cathedral.

"Manchester, too, can claim his masterpiece, the John Rylands Library in Deansgate. When Mrs. Rylands decided to build a library as a memorial to her husband, she visited many buildings and eventually found that the library of Mansfield College, Oxford, which had then been recently completed, most nearly fulfilled the idea she had in mind—a building on the lines of a college library in the later Gothic style, but on a much more extensive scale than any known example. Champneys gave it brilliant form. Externally it is a logical outcome of the conditions that dictated the setbacks and breaks in the façades, by 'right of light' problems, which, in the hands of a master, have enhanced the interest of the elevations. But the Rylands Library, as its author always emphasised, was pre-eminently an interior design. Once the threshold is crossed, it reveals unsuspected glories. The spacious vestibule and the superb staircase lead to the church-like splendour of the Library itself. The fact that it is raised 30 feet above the street explains the sense of quiet and seclusion. It consists of a central hall, one almost calls it nave, 20 feet wide, 44 feet high, and 125 feet long. This terminates in an apse, and on either side are reading recesses, each with its bay window, that give great character and purpose to the interior. The iconography of the building is a study in itself. There is a lavish display of symbolical groups and portrait statues and pictured effigies in stained glass, by

Kempe, presenting all that is greatest in the intellectual history of mankind. The pictorial and plastic arts are harmoniously grafted on to the art of building, as they have always been in the greatest periods. But these are but accessories. Above all we admire the æsthetic principle of space value, the dignity of pure proportion. Every detail has been considered with loving care. Here is a mastery of mouldings, of traceried windows, of truthful vaulting in stone, and the use of thrust and counter-thrust, with the reading recesses cunningly contrived within the depths of the internal buttresses.

"Gothic architecture is an organic style, based primarily on logical constructive truths and not, as we have so frequently been led to believe, on a mere application of ornament to building. It is because so much of the Gothic revival 'Gothic' is hollow sham that this *tour de force* of constructive genius will live to be treasured by all lovers of real architecture.

"The Rylands Library was built under very particular conditions, for a very particular client, by a very particular architect. It is unique. The imitation of it by feebler hands and in a less lavish manner would be disastrous. Even as it is, it is questionable whether all this rich wealth of tracery and carving is suited to the Manchester atmosphere and the insipid commonplaces of Deansgate. Nevertheless, it cannot fail to impress all who have the eye to see this exquisite casket of the precious books that it was built to house.

"It took nine years to build, and this conveys some notion of the care and thought lavished by its designer on a building not vast in its dimensions. Only the initiated can realise the amount of work that goes to the production of a fine building. The general conception came with great rapidity. The plan and grouping were evolved in a day and a half, and within a week it was practically settled; but it took nine years of incessant toil to bring the scheme to fruition. This noble building may be taken as typical of Champneys in his happiest phase, the Gothic. Lovers of mediæval architecture will always look upon him as one of its greatest modern exponents. He was honoured with the Royal Gold Medal of the R.I.B.A., which he received in 1912."

As a writer Mr. Champneys's career began as long ago as 1875, when he published "A quiet corner of England," being an account of the then little-known neighbourhood of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney Marsh, illustrated by woodcuts from his own pleasant pen-and-ink sketches. In 1879 appeared: "Henry Merritt: art criticism and romance," a tribute to a once well-known art critic and picture restorer. In 1900 appeared his most out-standing book, the "Memoirs and correspondence of Coventry Patmore," the authoritative work on the subject, which he prepared at the request of the poet's widow. Patmore, on a visit to Rye, had asked him to be his literary executor, though without mentioning the subject of a biography. In this book Champneys acknowledges the help of his brother, A. C. Champneys, author of a "History of English," and "Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture," who died in 1924. He married in 1876 May Theresa Ella, daughter of Mr. Maurice Drummond, C.B., and had two sons and two daughters. His mother-in-law, who before her marriage was the Hon. Adelaide Lister, was the daughter of the second Lord Ribblesdale. She died in 1911, and of her he published a "Retrospect and memoir" in 1915.

The year 1935 marks the anniversary of the birth, death, or martyrdom of four men whose names stand out in the annals of our country.

THE VENERABLE BEDE.

It marks the twelve hundredth anniversary of the death of the Venerable Bede, which took place on the morning of the Day of the Ascension, in the year 735, at the monastery of St. Paul's at Jarrow.

Bede or more accurately Bæda was born in Northumbria, in the area which was given for the foundation of the monastery of St. Peter's, at Wearmouth, in what is now the county of Durham, in or about the year 673.

Losing his parents when quite young, Bede was placed by his relatives, at the age of seven years, under the charge of Benedict Biscop, the Abbot of Wearmouth, and became an oblate of the abbey. A year later, when Ceolfrith was appointed to

preside over the new monastery of St. Paul's at Jarrow, Bede, in company with twelve other members of the fraternity, accompanied him. Here he spent the remaining fifty-four years of his life.

In his nineteenth year Bede, who was distinguished for his holiness and ability, was made a deacon. He entered the priesthood at the canonical age of thirty. In both cases he was presented by his abbot, Ceolfrith, and he received his orders from the hands of John of Beverley, then Bishop of Hexham.

His was a life wholly devoted to study and devotion—to the routine of teaching in the monastic school, to omnivorous reading, to the composition of his works, and to the regular following of the sacred offices of the church. He loved to say: "I know that angels visit the congregation of the brethren at the canonical hours, and what if they should not find me among the brethren. Would they not say, Where is Bede? Why comes he not with the brethren to the prayers appointed?"

We know very little of the events of his life, the short account which he gives of himself at the end of the "Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum" supplies us with almost the only information we possess.

He has been described as "the Father of English History," but he was much more than that, he was, as one writer has described him, "the Father of all the Middle Ages." Even during his lifetime his reputation had spread far beyond the frontiers of Britain, and St. Boniface likened his death to the extinction of a brightly burning light.

In the age of Charlemagne his works were to be found in every cathedral and monastic library in Western Europe, and historians, as well as theologians, relied on him implicitly.

His collected works fill six volumes of Migne's "Patrologia Latina." According to the list appended to his "Historia ecclesiastica" the books he had written by the year 731, when that work was concluded, numbered thirty-six, but several more must be added to complete the record.

The range of his knowledge is almost incredible. His writings may be classed as scientific, historical, and theological. He wrote on natural phenomena, grammar, the art of poetry, music, and

the symbolism of numbers. It was from his work on chronology that the practice of dating events from the Incarnation came gradually to be adopted throughout Christendom. Of all his writings the most important, and the best known, is the "Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum," giving in five books the history of England, ecclesiastical and political, from the time of Cæsar to the date of its completion in 731. It is from this history that many familiar stories of early English history are derived. It was Bede who immortalised the story of St. Gregory and the Anglian slave boys in the Roman Forum. He also wrote a life of St. Cuthbert, and a series of lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The most numerous of his writings, however, were theological, and consist of commentaries on the books of the Old and the New Testaments, homilies, and treatises on detached portions of scripture.

Bede's aim was to gather up and transmit to posterity the wisdom and the learning of past generations, so that it might descend unimpaired and undiminished. He also realised the importance of sound textual criticism. Benedict Biscop had brought back to Wearmouth a library of books which he had collected on the continent. Ceolfrith, later, added three copies of the Vulgate and one of the Old Itala Versions of the Bible. To these Bede had constant access, and he frequently compares their different readings, and points out faults in other manuscripts. From one of the three Vulgates which Bede used a copy was made either at Wearmouth or Jarrow, and was taken by Ceolfrith as a present to Pope Gregory, in 716. Ceolfrith died on the way, but the manuscript was carried on to Rome by some of his companions. It was subsequently given to the monastery of Monte Amiata, was recalled temporally to Rome to be consulted for the Sistine edition of the Vulgate, and finally found a home at Florence, in the Laurentian Library, where it is still preserved as the "Codex Amiatinus."

The even routine of Bede's activity continued until the end. Shortly after Easter in 735, he became seriously ill, but in spite of failing powers he continued to instruct his pupils, and to press on with his nearly completed translation into English of the Gospel of St. John. From a letter written by one of his pupils

named Cuthbert, to Cuthwine his fellow scholar, we learn that on the day of his death, when the rest had gone to the procession held on the festival, his scribe was left alone with him. 'Dearest master,' he said, 'there is one chapter wanting, and it is hard for thee to question thyself.' 'No, it is easy,' said Bede, 'take thy pen and write quickly.' He spent the day in giving his little treasures of spice and incense to the priests of the house, in asking their prayers, and in bidding them farewell. The evening came, and the young scribe said, 'There is yet one sentence, dear Master, to write out.' Bede answered, 'Write quickly.' After a while the boy said, 'Now it is finished.' 'Well,' he said, 'thou hast spoken truly, "It is finished."' Then he bade his friends place him where he could look on the spot on which he was wont to kneel in prayer. And lying thus upon the pavement of his cell, he chanted the 'Gloria Patri,' and as he uttered the words 'the Holy Ghost' he breathed his last, and 'so he passed to the kingdom in heaven.'

It was not until the ninth century that the epithet "Venerable" began to be added to his name.

ALCUIN.

It is probable that the year 735, which witnessed the death of the Venerable Bede saw also the birth of Alcuin, who has been described as Bede's intellectual heir, and the age's greatest instructor and schoolmaster—although the point cannot be decided with certainty.

Alcuin's English name was Ealhwine. He was born at York and was educated at the cloister school in his native city, where under Archbishop Egbert, and Ethelbert, or Aelbert, the master of the school, who was a man of wide attainments, he acquired a training as many sided as was possible at that time.

With his master Ethelbert Alcuin travelled widely, as was the custom in those days, in search of anything new in books and studies. Upon his return he began to assist in the conduct of the school, and an increasing share of the responsibility fell to him when, on the death of Archbishop Egbert, in 766, Ethelbert, the master, was raised to the Archbishopric of York. In 778 Ethelbert resigned the archbishopric, and Alcuin became headmaster of the school, with charge of the rich library connected with it.

Three years later (in 781) Alcuin was sent to Rome to receive from Pope Hadrian the *pallium* for Eanbald, the newly consecrated Archbishop of York, and on his return, when passing through Parma, he was presented to the Emperor Charlemagne, who was at that time planning his organised attempt for the elevation of literary studies in his empire. Alcuin was pressed to take up his residence at Aachen and undertake the charge of the Palace School there. With the permission of his ecclesiastical superiors he yielded to the request, and with the exception of two short visits to his home country, he remained on the continent until the close of his life in 804.

Until 796 Alcuin was mainly occupied with the education of members of the royal family, not infrequently including the Emperor himself, but in that year he obtained permission to withdraw from the stirring life of the court and the church, and the Emperor bestowed on him the abbacy of the great foundation of St. Martin of Tours. The school of Tours once famous, had fallen into decline, but under Alcuin's stimulating influence it acquired more than its former fame, and became the nursery of many seminaries of like character. Tours was for France what York had been for England. As a product of the great school at York Alcuin bears witness to the admirable training which that school could furnish, and the debt which the schools of Charlemagne owed, through Alcuin, to England should never be forgotten.

Alcuin occupies a distinguished place in the literary history of the Middle Ages, not by reason of his actual writings, but through his position as foremost man of letters in the restoration of teaching under Charlemagne.

He was a fairly prolific writer, and his theological writings alone take up two volumes of the "Patrologia Latina." He wrote a number of elementary educational treatises, evidently intended for use in the Palace School. These and his letters were the only part of his writings which attained popularity in England. He wrote a number of commentaries on the Bible. His controversial works are of less enduring interest, but his liturgical works, or compilations, made a deep mark upon the church life of the continent. He had a hand in the revision of

the Latin Bible, but to what extent cannot now be determined, although it is highly probable that he took a prominent if not a predominant part in the undertaking.

Though the tale of Alcuin's labours is an imposing one, it is the intellectual stimulus which he imparted, and the long line of scholars which owed to him its existence, that forms his true monument. He ranks with Bede as an inspirer of men, but the vehicle by which his inspiration was conveyed was rather the voice of the teacher than the written word.

The year 1935 marks the four hundredth anniversary of the execution of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, their only crime being that they refused to swear to the statutes of the succession and of the supremacy of Henry VIII.

Both Fisher and More were beatified by Pope Leo XIII, on the 27th December, 1886, and in response to appeals invoking the canonisation of the two English martyrs, to whom devotion has been paid ever since their beatification, the Pope decided to have them canonised on the fourth centenary of their death, with a special procedure reserved for martyrs.

The canonisation actually took place on the anniversary of the execution of Anne Boleyn, the 19th of May, with all the magnificent ceremony of canonisation, which is one of the most impressive of all the Roman Catholic Church's rites, and the names of John Fisher and Thomas More were added to the calendar of the Church's saints and martyrs.

This is the first time since the Reformation that an Englishman has been canonised.

Among the 40,000 persons present at the ceremony, which lasted from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., were 4000 English pilgrims.

In attendance on the Pope were 17 cardinals, 23 abbots, and 55 archbishops and bishops, including the principal Roman Catholic prelates of Britain. In the Diplomatic Corps, which included the British Minister to the Holy See, 25 countries were represented.

When the canonisation was complete the Pope announced that the new feasts to be added to the calendar should be the 2nd June for St. John and the 6th July for St. Thomas.

John Fisher, the son of Robert Fisher, a wealthy mercer, was born at Beverley in Yorkshire in or about the year 1459. He received his earliest education at the school attached to the collegiate church of that city, and was subsequently entered at Michaelhouse, now incorporated with Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1487 he was admitted to his degree of B.A., and was soon after elected fellow of his college. In 1491 he proceeded to his degree of M.A., filled the office of senior proctor in the University in 1494, and became master of his college in 1497. JOHN FISHER.

His duties as proctor necessitated his occasional attendance at Court, where he attracted the notice of Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and mother of King Henry VII, who in 1497 appointed him her chaplain and confessor.

In 1501 he was chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University, and in 1503 he was appointed first holder of the newly founded Lady Margaret Chair of Divinity. In 1504 he was elected Chancellor of the University, an office to which he was re-elected annually for ten years, and eventually for life, and in the same year he was appointed Bishop of Rochester. It was mainly through his exertions that St. John's College was founded in 1511. In 1513, on the promotion of Cardinal Wolsey to the see of Lincoln, he proposed to retire from the office of Chancellor in favour of Wolsey, and the University acted on his advice, but Wolsey declined the honour and Fisher was re-appointed.

Fisher's attachment to learning was indicated by his sympathy with the new spirit of Biblical criticism, which had accompanied the Renaissance. It was mainly through his influence that Erasmus was induced to visit Cambridge, where the study of Greek was allowed to go on without molestation of the kind which it had to encounter at Oxford.

The Reformation of Luther found in him a strenuous opponent. He it was who preached at St. Paul's Cross in denunciation of the New Testament of Tindale as replete with dangerous heresies, and at the conclusion of his sermon, at which Wolsey was present, great baskets of the heretical books were brought out and burned.

Fisher has been erroneously credited with the authorship

of "Assertio septem sacramentorum," in which Henry VIII attacked the heretic Luther, and for which the Pope conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." Fisher replied to Luther in his "Defence" of Henry's treatise in answer to the reformer's attacks.

Fisher was unflinching in his opposition to the doctrine of royal supremacy, and in his opposition to the divorce of the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, which he declared could not be dissolved by any power, divine or human.

On the 13th of April, 1524, he was summoned to Lambeth to take the oath of compliance with the Act of Succession. He expressed his willingness, as did Sir Thomas More, to take that part of the oath which fixed the succession in the issue of Anne Boleyn, but, like More, he declined the oath in its entirety.

With the passing of the Act of Supremacy in November, 1524, both Fisher and More were attainted of misprision of treason, and the see of Rochester was declared vacant. On the 7th May, 1535, Fisher was visited by Cromwell and others of the King's Council, to whom he intimated his inability to recognise the King as supreme head of the Church, and as a result of this denial of the King's right to that title he was found guilty of high treason.

Henry would still have hesitated to put Fisher to death, but for the action of the new Pope, Paul III, in creating Fisher a cardinal on the 20th May, 1535. His act roused Henry to almost ungovernable fury. The King is reported to have said: "Well, let the Pope send him a hat, but I will so provide that he wear it on his shoulders, for head he shall have none to set it on."

The King kept his word, and on the 17th June he was brought to the bar at Westminster, pronounced guilty, and sentenced to die a traitor's death at Tyburn. On the 21st of the month the sentence was commuted to one of beheading at Tower Hill, as was the case a couple of weeks later in that of his friend More. The execution took place on the 22nd June, 1535. Fisher met his death with a calmness, dignity and pious resignation which greatly impressed the beholders.

The news of Fisher's fate was received with feelings approaching consternation throughout Europe. Paul III declared

he would sooner have had his two grandsons slain, and in a letter to Francis I says that he " is compelled, at the unanimous solicitation of the cardinals, to declare Henry deprived of his kingdom and of the royal dignity."

It is worthy of note that Bishop Fisher, the first burner of Tindale's New Testament, was responsible for the first printed translation into English of any portion of the Psalter, which is contained in his " This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge and prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalmes. Deuyded in seuen sermons . . . ," which was printed by the London printer Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508. Fisher's rendering of the Seven Penitential Psalms is interspersed throughout the sermons.

This and several others of Fisher's original printed sermons, and other works, are to be found on the shelves of the Rylands Library.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Thomas More, the son of Sir John More, a rising barrister afterwards a Justice of the Court of King's Bench, was born in Milk Street, Cheapside, London, on the 7th February, 1477-8. He was educated at Saint Anthony's School in Threadneedle Street, and at the age of thirteen became a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, when the latter was not only Archbishop of Canterbury, but also Lord Chancellor of England. Morton quickly recognised young More's gifts, and secured for him an entrance to Canterbury Hall, afterwards merged in Christ Church, at Oxford. Here he laid the foundation of the scholarship, under such teachers as John Colet, Thomas Linacre, and William Grocyn, which later earned for him the reputation of being the greatest genius in England of his time.

After two years he left Oxford to study law at New Inn and Lincoln's Inn, and in due course was called to the Bar ; but he kept up his literary studies, and began that lifelong friendship with Erasmus who entertained for More the highest affection and esteem, and has written beautifully of the character of his friend.

At one time More thought of dedicating himself to God and the Church. He took a lodging near the Charterhouse, and for some

four years submitted himself to the discipline of a Carthusian monk. Finally, at the advice of Dean Colet, he was led to adopt the law as his profession, although he remained throughout life a very devout layman.

More did not have long to wait for professional success and soon became a busy practitioner in the courts. In 1504 he entered Parliament, and gained fame by opposing a large grant of money to the King (Henry VII), in aid of the marriage of Princess Margaret, and by so doing incurred the hostility of his sovereign and was compelled to retire into private life. He built up a fine legal practice, and when Henry VIII came to the throne he gained favour. He was made Under-Sheriff of London, Justice of the Peace, Master of Requests, was sworn a member of the Privy Council, created a knight in 1521, and became a prominent figure at Court. In the Parliament of 1523 he was elected Speaker, on the nomination of Cardinal Wolsey.

In 1505 he married Jane Colt of New Hall, Essex, by whom he had three daughters and one son, and together they lived a life of unbroken felicity until the death of the beloved wife and mother in 1511. As a widower with four small children to be cared for the circumstances suggested a second marriage, and within a month of the death of Jane Colt, he married Alice Middleton, and removed from his first home in Bucklersbury to Crosby Place, Bishopsgate.

Like Erasmus and Colet, More favoured a reform of the Church in practical matters, but he had no sympathy with the violent measures of Luther and his followers, and became the champion of his sovereign against Luther.

When the King, the cardinal and the bishops were at their wits' end to know how to arrest the progress of the so-called heretical teaching that was being disseminated by Tindale and others, they decided that the press which had been instrumental in circulating the poison should be used to circulate the antidote, and Sir Thomas More was requested to take up the pen and champion the cause of the Church.

The literary combat between More and Tindale, which ensued, lasted for nearly five years, but in the end Tindale won, for More himself confessed that " as brevity is the soul of wit

it is also the essence of retort, and a confutation ten times the size of the work it is intended to demolish is a failure."

Upon Wolsey's fall in 1529, More was appointed Chancellor. The holding of this office by any but a great ecclesiastic was an innovation. He grew in favour with the King, but he was not deceived by the fickleness of royal favour, and declared "that if my head would win the King a castle in France it should not fail to go."

In raising More to the Chancellorship the King had counted upon his support in the desired divorce from Queen Catherine, and in the Church policy to which he was driven by that desire.

As Henry's policy developed More found himself increasingly at variance with it. The divorce was a point on which he would not yield, and when he saw that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was determined upon he petitioned the King to be allowed to resign the Great Seal, alleging failing health. His resignation was accepted on the 10th May, 1532.

More's necessitous condition was notorious, and the clergy in convocation voted him a grant of £5000, but he peremptorily declined the offer.

He refused to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn, and from that moment he was marked down for vengeance, several attempts being made to bring him within the meshes of the law.

In 1534 the Bill, vesting the Crown in Anne Boleyn's issue, and imposing an oath abjuring any foreign potentate, and, in the case of the clergy, the authority of the Pope, was passed and ordered to be tendered.

More offered to swear to the succession, but steadily refused the oath of supremacy as against his conscience, for in all his studies he could never find that a temporal lord should be head of the spirituality.

Thereupon he was given in charge of the Abbot of Westminster, and persisting in his refusal he was, on the 17th April, committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner until his death. Visits were paid to him by Cromwell and other counsellors in the hope of shaking his constancy, but in vain.

He was brought to trial on a charge of treason and convicted by the most flagrant perjury and injustice, and was sentenced to

be hanged at Tyburn, a sentence which was commuted by the King to beheading.

On the 6th of July More was executed at the Tower, retaining to the last the calmness which had marked his life.

Not satisfied by this judicial murder of his friend and servant, Henry enforced the confiscation of what small property More had left, expelled Lady More from their house at Chelsea, and even set aside assignments which had been legally executed by More, who foresaw what would happen. More's property was settled on Princess Elizabeth, later Queen, who held it till her death.

More's execution shocked the whole of Europe, and Charles the Fifth declared that he would rather have lost his best friend than such a counsellor.

More is perhaps best known to-day as the author of "Utopia," which was written in Latin so as to reach the learned world. In this work he graphically describes a certain island in which there purported to exist an ideal form of government. The word "Utopia" means "Nowhere," and the island not being specified, More was enabled to indicate with freedom certain salient defects in the social conditions prevailing in the England of his day, evils which in his opinion required serious emendation. More's view challenged serious attention, and "Utopia" has found favour amongst social reformers even down to modern times. The first edition was published in Louvain in 1516. It was reprinted at Basle in 1518, and the earliest English edition appeared in London in 1551. Copies of these three, and of other editions of "Utopia," are to be found in the Rylands Library, together with his "Workes wrytten in the Englysh tonge," 1557; "Omnia Latina opera," 1566; "The apologye of Sir T. More," 1533; "A dyalogue of Syr Thomas More . . .," 1530; "Epigrammata," 1520; "Lucubrationes . . .," 1563; "The confutacyon of Tyndale's answere made to Syr Thomas More," 1533; and many other works of or upon Sir Thomas More.

Even when a prisoner in the Tower More employed his pen in writing "The Dialogue of Comfort," in order to fortify himself by a consideration of the value of sufferings for acquiring merit in another world.

His English works, principally of a controversial or devotional character, are marked by a forcible simple style and by an abundance of witty illustrations.

More made no distinction between the sexes in matters of learning, "Surely if a woman's brain is more bracken than a man's, that is all the more reason why it should be more carefully cultivated." He encouraged his children to write to him long letters whenever his embassies took him abroad, and to each and every letter he penned replies. He would admit of no such excuse as that they had nothing to write about. "If such were the case let them write about that nothing well," was More's dictum.

In the long list of England's worthies Sir Thomas More will always hold a conspicuous place.

NEW TESTAMENT PAPYRI.

The original manuscripts of the New Testament writings are of papyrus, mostly fragmentary, and very early. Within the last few years some very startling discoveries have been made. Five years ago the announcement of the finding of what are known as the "Chester Beatty Papyri" caused quite a stir. It is a collection of portions of twelve papyrus codices, ranging in date from the third to the fourth or fifth century, which collectively may still be regarded as the earliest extant manuscripts of any considerable size of the Greek Bible. Eight of the codices contain portions of the Old Testament, three contain portions of the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, whilst one contains the end of the lost Greek original of the Book of Enoch, and an unidentified homily. One of the groups consists of thirty leaves of a volume which once contained all four gospels and the Acts. They appear to be of the third century, and consequently are about a century earlier than the "Codex Sinaiticus."

These texts, which have been transcribed and prepared for the press by Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, are in course of publication, accompanied by photographic facsimiles of the originals, by the Oxford University Press.

Now comes news of the still more thrilling discovery of a New Testament papyrus fragment of the early part of the second century.

AN UNKNOWN GOSPEL.

Not since the discovery of the " Logia " papyrus, at Oxyrhynchus, in 1897, has a Christian papyrus come to light which raises so many and such interesting problems as the fragment of a papyrus codex containing portions of an unknown gospel of the early second century, which has recently been discovered.

This fragment formed part of a little collection of papyri purchased from a dealer last year, by the Trustees of the British Museum. They come, it is thought, from the same district in Egypt as the " Logia." The fragment is therefore the earliest Christian manuscript yet discovered in that country.

The probable site of the discovery is on the edge of the Libyan desert, 120 miles south of Cairo. Here are a series of low mounds, which in 1897, when Dr. Grenfell discovered the " Logia," were covered with Roman and early Arabic pottery and are the site of the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The wide area of the site and the scale of the buildings and city walls, where traceable, testify to its past size and importance, but it declined rapidly after the Arab conquest, and its modern representative Behnesa, is a mere hamlet.

A flourishing city in Roman times, and one of the chief centres of early Christianity in Egypt, Oxyrhynchus offered a peculiarly attractive field for explorers who make the recovery of Greek papyri their aim. Here in the rubbish heaps of the town have been found large quantities of papyri, chiefly Greek, ranging in date from the first to the eighth century, and embracing every variety of subject.

Unfortunately, death has robbed us of the two scholars, Dr. B. P. Grenfell and Dr. A. S. Hunt, who more than any others were responsible for attacking these mounds and rubbish heaps, and recovering thousands of papyri, mostly fragmentary, many of which furnish evidence of lost classical writings, as well as religious texts. Nineteen quarto volumes of these recovered papyri have already been published by the Egypt Exploration Society, and material for many more remains unexplored just as Grenfell and Hunt left it in Queen's College, Oxford.

It may not be out of place to mention the fact that a large number of these "Oxyrhynchus" finds are to be found in the John Rylands Library. Some five hundred have already been catalogued, but many more remain still to be dealt with.

The newly discovered fragments have been published in facsimile in a handsome volume, with transcripts, and a scholarly introduction, by Dr. Idris Bell, the Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, and his assistant, Mr. T. C. Skeat, under the title: "Fragments of an Unknown Gospel, and other Early Christian Papyri. Edited by H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat. With five plates." (Trustees of the British Museum.) 4s.

The editors conclude that the principal fragment is indubitably of a real gospel, but, they say, it is easier to establish this point than to decide whether it can be connected with any known uncanonical gospel.

The interest of the writer of this gospel seems, like that of the Synoptists, to be primarily historical. In the sayings and doings of Christ incidents to which possible parallels may be found in the Synoptic Gospels are so differently related that the author was probably drawing upon an independent source, oral or written, and appears to represent a quite independent tradition. It is not even certain that the author knew these gospels at all, the most that can be conceded is that he had read them, and that words and phrases had remained in his memory, and found their way into his text. Canon Streeter is quoted from his "The Four Gospels," where speaking of St. John he says: "The materials the author uses have all been fused in the crucible of his creative imagination, and it is from the image in his mind's eye, far more vivid than the written page, that he paints his picture."

Its discovery in Egypt may suggest that it was written for the Christian community of Alexandria, or it may have originated in Asia, and been later introduced into Alexandria, and so into Egypt generally. In any case it seems probable that it was of comparatively early composition, not later than the early years of the second century. It is thus a century earlier than the "Chester Beatty Papyri" and two centuries earlier than the "Codex Sinaiticus."

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a preliminary list of the public evening lectures (the thirty-fourth series) which are being arranged for delivery in the lecture hall of the Library during the ensuing session 1935-36 :—

Wednesday, 2nd October, 1935. "The Beginnings of the English Bible." By Henry Guppy, M.A., Litt.D., Librarian of the John Rylands Library.

In commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the publication of the first entire Bible to be printed in the English language, which was translated and edited by Miles Coverdale, and completed on the 4th of October, 1535.

The occasion will be further marked by the arrangement, in the Main Library, of a special exhibition to illustrate "THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY"—which will be open to the public on Wednesday, the 2nd October, between the hours of 6.30 and 9 o'clock p.m.

Wednesday, 9th October, 1935. "Shakespeare's Dark Comedies." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1935. "The New Gospel Papyrus." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th December, 1935. Under arrangement.

Wednesday, 8th January, 1936. "The Morphology of the Mediæval City." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th February, 1936. "Occam as a political thinker." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D. Phil., Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th March, 1936. Subject to be announced later. By Barker Fairley, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :—

ART : BRITISH ART, "Commemorative catalogue of the Exhibition of British Art, 1934," 4to ; DRUMMOND (A. L.),

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: BELGIUM, "Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique, vol. 1: Catalogue des MSS. conservés à Namur," 8vo; BERLIN, "Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken . . . Band 6: Apuntes-Arndt," Folio; BERLIN, "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Band 6," 4to; BORDONA (J. D.), "Manuscritos con pinturas notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones . . . de Espana," 2 vols., 8vo; CARTER (John), "New paths in book collecting: essays by various hands, edited by J. Carter," 8vo; CHURCHILL (W. A.), "Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the 17th and 18th centuries and their interconnection," Folio; CLAPPERTON (P. H.), "Paper: a historical account of its making by hand from the earliest times to the present day," Folio; DAVIS (H. W.), "Devices of the early printers, 1457-1560; their history and development, with a chapter on portrait figures of printers," 8vo; KENNEDY (J.), and others, "Dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous English literature," 7 vols, 8vo; MARTINI (Giuseppe), "Catalogo della libreria di G. Martini compilato dal possessore, 1: Incunabuli," 8vo: "MONUMENTA PALÆOGRAPHICA VETERA, 2: dated Greek minuscule MSS. to the year 1200, edited by K. and S. Lake: Manuscripts in Venice, London, Oxford," Folio; RAND (E. K.), "Studies in the script of Tours, 2: the earliest book of Tours, with supplementary descriptions of other MSS. of Tours," Folio.

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Newcastle : The Public Libraries (1).
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MILES COVERDALE
AND
THE ENGLISH BIBLE 1488–1568.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST COMPLETE BIBLE TO BE PRINTED IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY MILES COVERDALE AND FINISHED ON THE 4TH OCTOBER, 1535.

OUR English Bible in its printed form was born in exile. England, which more than any other country was to be distinguished in after years for its zeal in printing and circulating the Scriptures, was late in entering the field. She was nourishing her faith on manuscript copies of the Wiclifite versions long after the time when Bibles were printed in the vernacular of several European countries. Germany had a translation of the Bible in 1465, Italy in 1471, France in 1474, the Low Countries in 1477, Bohemia in 1488, and printed versions of the Bible or parts of it were in circulation in several other languages and dialects long before any attempt had been made to print an English Bible.

It may appear strange, but it is none the less true to say, that of many of the greatest men the world knows the least. The lives of the greatest saints of the church are little more than legends, and of many of the great master minds of the past a few pages will often contain all that can be authentically told.

The story of the birth and early life of William Tindale, to whom we owe the first printed New Testament in English, is involved in obscurity, and of the early life of Miles Coverdale, to whom we are indebted for the first entire Bible to be printed in the English language, very little also is known, and of his later years we have but scanty information.

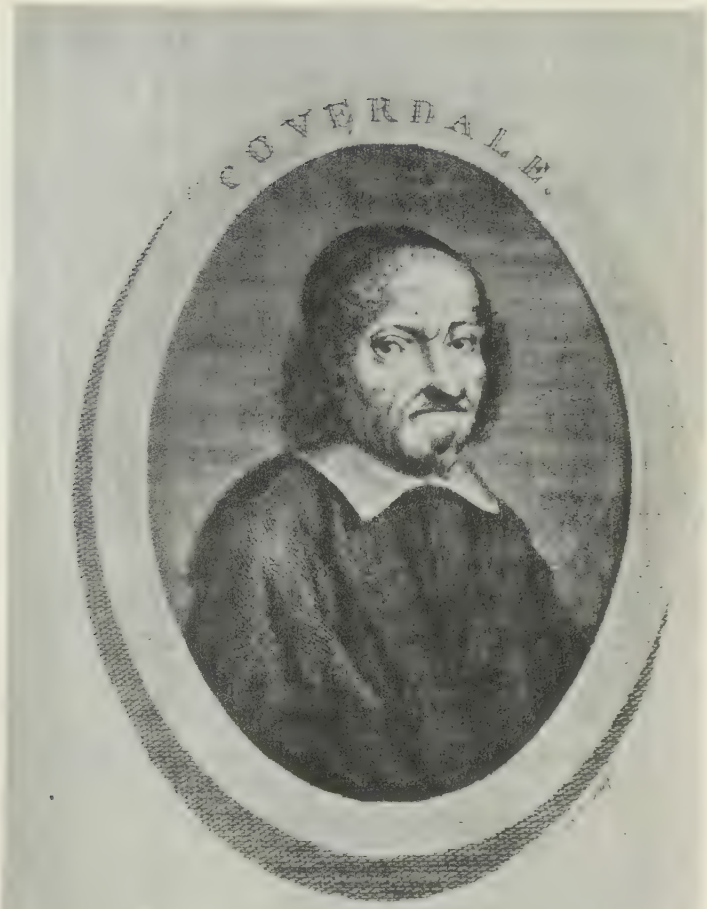


PLATE I. MILES COVERDALE, 1488-1508.

Miles Coverdale was born in 1488, and it is assumed that his surname is derived from the district of his birth "Coverdale," in what is called Richmondshire, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, so that, like Wiclif, he was a native of Yorkshire.

From childhood, like his great contemporary, Tindale, he was devoted to learning, and at an early age was sent to Cambridge, where he studied philosophy and theology. In 1514 he was admitted to priest's orders at Norwich, and entered the monastery of the Austin Friars at Cambridge, where he fell under the influence of Robert Barnes, well known in the early records of the Reformation.

Meetings of those who inclined to Protestantism were frequently held at a house in Cambridge near St. John's, called the "White Horse," derisively known as "Germany," because of the Lutheran opinions held there. Here Coverdale met many kindred spirits from the neighbouring colleges.

He also had acquaintances among the highest in the land and was a visitor at the house of Sir Thomas More, where he made a powerful friend in the person of Thomas Cromwell, then one of the dependents of Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards his successor in the king's favour.

Meanwhile the way had been prepared for Coverdale's great work by the publication of the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, in 1516, containing the first published Greek text and a new Latin translation in parallel columns, one of the most important events in the progress of letters. When it appeared in Cambridge it was immediately proscribed by a number of the leading scholars of the day, and one college forbade it to be brought within its walls. Yet the book they condemned was the very instrument by which God intended to promote His own designs.

One student having procured a copy of the Testament was so affected by it that it produced in him a great moral change. This was none other than the "gentle" Thomas Bilney, Fellow of Trinity Hall, the future martyr of 1531, whose preaching was followed by great and powerful results, for, among others, Hugh Latimer and Robert Barnes owed their conversion to him.

Barnes, after proceeding through the schools at Cambridge had entered the monastery of Austin Friars in 1514. Having then gone to Louvain, where he took the degree of Doctor of Theology, he was upon his return, in 1523, made prior and master of the monastery, and became one of the great restorers of learning at Cambridge. He had already introduced the study of the classics and was reading Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, but being brought to the knowledge of the truth, through Bilney, he proceeded to read openly with his scholars the Epistles of St. Paul.

Sometime before this Latimer, who also had been enlightened through Bilney's preaching, was proclaiming the truth with great decision and effect. Whether Latimer was actually in expectation of Tindale's New Testament does not appear, but he was powerfully preparing the way for it, by frequently dwelling upon the great abuse of locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue.

Nicolas West, Bishop of Ely, after hearing him, was professedly impressed, but ultimately prohibited him from preaching in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese. Happily the monastery of Austin Friars was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, so the prior, Dr. Robert Barnes, boldly licensed Latimer to preach there, and as a result, the place was unable to contain the crowds that assembled to hear him. At the same time Barnes having been invited to preach in the neighbouring parish at St. Edward's Church resolved to comply.

This was on Christmas Eve, Sunday, the 24th of December, 1525. It was a memorable evening on account of its effects. Indeed, it was a crisis, for understanding now the way of truth more perfectly, and being alive to the state of things around him, and of Wolsey's extravagance, Barnes led the way in publicly and boldly exposing the gorgeous and tyrannical bearing of the lofty Cardinal, with the result that he was immediately accused of heresy.

He was apprehended and forthwith carried to London, where he was brought before Wolsey who, on reading the articles of condemnation, came to one personal to himself, for the accusers

knew how to touch Wolsey to the quick. "What Master Doctor," exclaimed the Cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, that my golden shoes, my pole axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you, that you must make us *rediculum caput* before the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on the stage than in a pulpit, for at the last you said I wear a pair of red gloves, 'I should say bloody gloves,' quoth you, 'that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies.'"

Whether these charges were correct does not transpire, but Barnes as yet unmoved replied, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the old doctors." In the end he delivered to the Cardinal six sheets of manuscript, to confirm and corroborate all that he had spoken. Wolsey, smiling, said, "we perceive that you mean to stand to your articles and to show your learning." "Yes," said Barnes, "that I do intend by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." Then said the Cardinal, "you must be burnt," and was about to commit him to the Tower when Edward Fox and Stephen Gardiner interceded and became sureties for his appearance before the bishops to whom Wolsey had committed him. During the whole night Barnes was engaged in preparing his defence, in which he was assisted by Coverdale and two other students, who had followed him to London, and wrote at their master's dictation.

At the trial he was treated with marked severity. After long disputation, threatening and scorn he was called upon to say whether he would abjure or burn. Barnes was in great agony of mind, but after taking counsel with Fox and Gardiner, to whom he was sent, he was persuaded to yield and to abjure. After a time he relented, was again condemned and sentenced to be burnt at the Austin Friars at Northampton, but contrived to escape to the Continent and again succeeded in eluding the stake, but only for a time, since he suffered the extreme penalty in 1540, the year in which Thomas Cromwell also was executed.

Coverdale escaped personal accusation, and about this time left the monastery in order to give himself entirely to evangelical preaching, assuming the habit of a secular priest.

Early in 1528 he was at Steeple-Bumpstead, where Richard Foxe was minister, preaching against confession and the worship of images.

John Fox declares that Coverdale was with Tindale at Hamburg in 1529, assisting him with the translation of the Pentateuch, but there is no confirmation of this statement, and it appears certain that he could have afforded little assistance in the work of translation from the Hebrew, for two years later he confesses his incompetence for such a task. Furthermore, in the whole of Tindale's writing there is no hint of any meeting with Coverdale.

The years between 1529 and the appearance of the Bible of 1535 were eventful years. In 1529 Wolsey was dismissed from office, the great seal was given to Sir Thomas More, and Cranmer received his first public appointment. In 1533 the King married Ann Boleyn, in spite of the threats of the Pope, and shortly afterwards papal authority in England was formally annulled. In 1534 Henry assumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and in the following year Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More paid the penalty of their lives for their denial of the King's supremacy. These rapid changes had a marked influence on the fortunes of the English Bible.

In 1531 Coverdale took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, and three years later he brought out his first book, "Ye old God and the Newe," which was followed by "Paraphrases upon the Psalms," both of which were translations from the German of Otto Wermueller. But for these facts Coverdale is lost sight of until the appearance of the first English Bible of 1535.

It was early in 1526 that the first copies of Tindale's New Testament had reached England. Henry and Wolsey had been warned of this threatened invasion of England by the Word of God, and they did everything in their power to defeat it. Fortunately, the enterprise of the merchants was more than a match for the power of the sovereign and the hostility of the bishops, and in spite of all warnings and precautions the Word of God was conveyed into England, packed in the heart of bales of cotton and other merchandise, and there widely circulated.

It was immediately proscribed and denounced as replete with dangerous heresies by Cardinal Wolsey, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who commenced their crusade against all books of the so-called new learning, requiring all copies to be given up, and ordering a systematic search for copies to be made. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was charged to preach at St. Paul's Cross denouncing the books as replete with error. At the conclusion of the sermon, at which Wolsey, surrounded by bishops, abbots and friars, was present, great baskets of the New Testaments were brought out and burned. Wolsey was determined to strike terror to the heart of the enemy, and so rigorous was the search for copies carried out that only two copies of the first edition have survived, one in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, the other in the Baptist College at Bristol.

Three years later the King issued a proclamation against heretical books, and amongst these Tindale's writings, including his New Testament, were expressly specified. In 1530 the condemnation of these books by an assembly of learned men, after a conference of twelve days, was succeeded by another royal proclamation " against great errors and pestilent heresies, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tindale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors."

In a " Bill in English to be published by the prechours," which was issued in May, 1530, we read :

" Finally it appeared that having of the whole Scripture is not necessary to Christian men ; and like as the having of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue and in the common people's hands hath been by the holy Fathers of the Church in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberations of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to the farther confusion and destruction than

the edification of their souls. And it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the King's Highness and the Prelates in so doing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue at this time, doth well. 'And I also think' (was the preacher to say) 'and judge the same; exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.'"

In a letter written in December, 1530, by Hugh Latimer to the King, he boldly reminded Henry of his promise; and as the faithful monitor was soon afterwards made a royal chaplain, it can hardly be doubted that the promise faithfully expressed the intention of the King.

In 1533 Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and in December, 1534, Convocation, over which he presided, resolved to petition the King that he would "vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning."

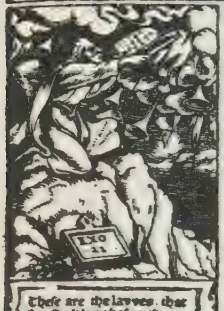
As early as 1527 Coverdale was in intimate association with Cromwell and More, and in all probability it was under their patronage that he was able to prepare his translation of the Bible. In an undated letter to Cromwell, he earnestly solicits assistance in the prosecution of his sacred studies in the following words: "Now I begin to taste holy Scriptures; now, honour be to God! I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of ancient and holy doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books as concerning my learning: they once had I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which he of his plentiful favour and grace hath begun."

Cromwell, who must have been well aware of the turn which opinion had taken, seems now to have urged Coverdale to

BIBLIA

The Bible/that is,the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Teſtament, faithfully and truly tranſlated out of Douche and Latyn in to Engliſhe.

M. D. XXXV.



These are the lawes. that thou ſhalt laye before them.

Go youre wayes in to all the worlde, & preach the Goſpel.

S. paul. II. Teſſa. III.
Praie for vs, that the worde of God maie haue fre paſſage, and be glorified. &c.

S. paul Col. III.
Let the worde of Chriſt dwell in you plenteouſly in all wyſdome &c.

Joſue I.
Let not the boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyſe thyſelfe therin daye and nyghte &c.

commit his work to the press. At any rate, by 1534, he was ready "as he was desired" to "set forth," in other words to publish, his translation.

THE BIBLE OF 1535.

The Bible was printed on the Continent by a foreign printer, in a folio volume, in a small German black-letter type, in double columns, with illustrations and a map, under the title:

"BIBLIA | The Bible that | is, the holy Scripture of the | Olde and New Testament, faith- | fully and truly translated out | of the Douche and Latyn | into Englishe. | MDXXXV. | "

The imprint states "Prynted in the yeare of our Lord 1535, and fynished the fourth daye of October."

The dedication to Henry VIII is signed "Myles Couerdale, who submits his poore translacyon unto the spirite of truth in your grace."

It is not possible to ascertain the exact relation in which the first edition of the Bible stood to the civil authority. The work was undertaken by the desire of Cromwell, but when it was issued in October, 1535, he appears to have been unable to obtain a definite license from the King; or it may be that he thought it more prudent to await the publication of the book. So much is certain that the first edition was issued without any distinct royal sanction, but was not suppressed.

It was not until 1537, on the title-page of the quarto edition "overseen and corrected," printed by James Nicolson, of Southwark, that we find "Set forth with the kinges moost gracious licence."

The Rylands Library is fortunate enough to possess two copies of the Coverdale Bible of 1535.

There are many difficult problems connected with its bibliography, not the least of which is to determine what was the original form of the title-page.

Of what is probably the first title the only surviving copy is preserved in the collection of the Earl of Leicester, at Holkham Hall in Norfolk. A facsimile of which is bound up with one of the two Rylands copies. (Plate 2.)

This title-page is printed from founts of type similar to those used in the body of the book. On the reverse of this title is

printed " The bokes of the whole Byble," but the list continues only as far as " Malachias, Malachy the prophet," showing that the complete list needed another page to complete it. The Earl of Leicester's copy also contains a leaf not found elsewhere: the conclusion of Coverdale's " Prologe," in the same type as the body of the Bible. One of the Rylands copies contains a facsimile of this leaf.

These leaves seem to indicate that, in all probability, the original issue of the preliminary matter consisted of four leaves only, and that the Dedication to Henry VIII formed no part of the Bible as it came from the press. The four leaves would have been made up thus: 1st: title and half of the table of books; 2nd: latter part of the table of books and the beginning of the " Prologe "; 3rd: " Prologe "; 4th: on the recto the conclusion of the " Prologe," and on the verso " The first boke of Moses, called Genesis, what this boke conteyneth."

The Rylands copy also contains a facsimile reproduction of the title-page of another copy in the possession of the Marquis of Northampton, at Castle Ashby. (Plate 3.) When the two titles are compared it is quite obvious that the same woodblocks surrounding the title have been used and arranged in the same way, but the type in this second copy bears no resemblance to that of the body of the book, and is known to have been in the possession of James Nicolson, of Southwark, and to have been used by him. In this Nicolson title the words " and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn," are omitted. In the title of the Earl of Leicester's copy the third scriptural quotation from Joshua i. 8 ends " but exercise thyself therein daye and nighte, etc." In the Nicolson title the " etc." is replaced by the conclusion of the passage: " y^{t} thou mayest kepe and do everythynge accordynge to it that is wrytten therein." This completion of the quotation added two lines of text and the only way of obtaining the necessary space within the limits of the woodcut border was to omit the two lines earlier in the title, " out of Douche and Latyn," the only words that could be spared.

For reasons yet to be explained it was judged better, very early in the book's history, to reprint the preliminary matter,

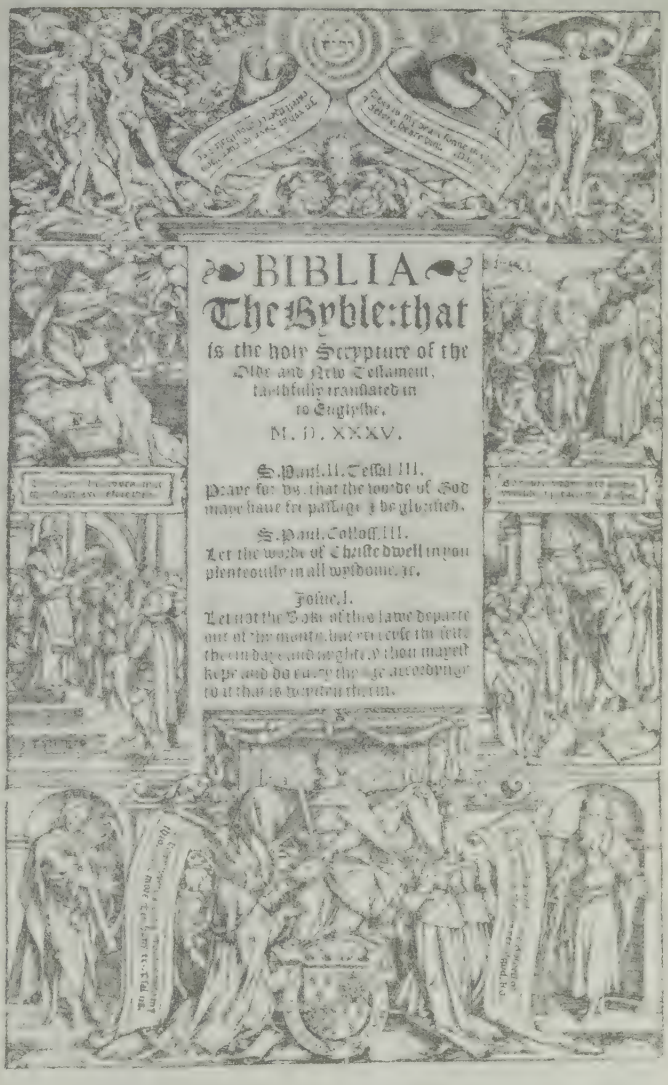

BIBLIA
The Byble: that
is the holy Scrypture of the
Olde and New Testament,
faythfully translated in
to Englysshe.
M. D. XXXV.
S. Paul. II. Tessal III.
Praye for vs, that the worde of God
maye haue free passage & be glorified.
S. Paul. Collos. III.
Let the worde of Christe dwell in you
plenteously in all wysdome, &c.
Folio. I.
Let not the Boke of this lawe departe
out of thy mouth, but exercyse thy selfe
therin day and nyght, yͭ thou mayest
kepe and do euery thynge accordynge
to it that is wrytten therin.

PLATE 3 SECOND LONDON TITLE PAGE OF "COVERDALE'S BIBLE"

and to add to it the somewhat fulsome dedication "unto the most victorious Prynce, and oure moost gracyous Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the eyght." It is possible that copies with the preliminary leaves in the same type as the rest of the book were issued only on the Continent. More probable is the suggestion that for some reason it was found that a dedication to Henry VIII would improve the chances of the book's free circulation, and so it was added.

The title-page of the Marquis of Northampton's copy is an example of what may be considered the first authorised form in which the Bible was offered to English readers.

One of the Rylands copies represents as closely as possible the *editio princeps* of the English Bible, as it first appeared.

As the library is also fortunate to possess a copy of Nicolson's 1537 reprint of the Bible, comparison with the preliminary leaves is made possible.

The first leaf of the dedication in one of the Rylands copies is a genuine 1535 issue, containing the words: "your dearest just wyfe and most vertuous Pryncesse Quene Anne" (executed on May 19, 1536). The second copy refers to "Quene Jane." By the month of February, if not earlier, the very name of Anne, far from being a passport to royal favour, was fatal to anything to which it was affixed. Cromwell had fallen in with the King's barbaric intentions, so that until another queen arose in the person of Jane Seymour the book may have remained unpresented.

The place of printing and the name of the printer have never been wholly determined, though most bibliographers agree that it was printed abroad. Various conjectures have been made, but when examined minutely they are found to be unsupported by any substantial evidence.

Three printers have been credited with the work: Christopher Froschover of Zurich; Christian Egenolph of Frankfort; and Jacob van Meteren of Antwerp.

The claim of Egenolph is based mainly upon the supposed fact that the wood-blocks in his 1534 Bible were identical with those in Coverdale. This is obviously incorrect, as a close examination of the two sets of blocks will convince any

accurate observer. That of Jacob van Meteren is not supported by later evidence.

Froschover, however, has several points in his favour. The type is very similar to some founts used by Froschover, and the general appearance of the book resembles that of others from his press, which we have carefully examined. Then, too, it is certain that he printed the 1550 edition of Coverdale's Bible. These things may prove nothing, but they are probabilities. Mr. Tedder in his article on Coverdale in the "Dictionary of National Biography" states that Dr. Ginsburg possessed two leaves of a German-Swiss Bible printed in types precisely similar to Coverdale's English version of 1535, identical in the general get-up and appearance, and the woodcuts also of the same design with minute differences in the engraving.

These leaves were extracted, according to Dr. Ginsburg, from a unique copy of the German-Swiss Bible in two volumes, printed by Froschover in 1529-30, in order to exhibit them at a lecture. Unfortunately, the Bible was stolen while on exhibition, and no other copy is known, whilst all attempts to discover the present whereabouts of the two leaves have been fruitless. The place of printing and the name of the printer are, therefore, still open questions, for it would be possible to form a sound judgment upon these questions only after a close and careful comparison of the copies.

We now turn to a consideration of the genesis of Coverdale's translation.

On the original title-page stood the phrase "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn," which accurately describes the case.

Towards the end of the "Dedication to Henry VIII" Coverdale says: "I haue nether wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaūce of any maner of secte: but haue with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters, hauyng onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes."

And near the beginning of the "Prologe" he writes: "And to helpe me herein, I haue had sondrye translacions, not onely in Latyn, but also of the Douche interpreters: whom (because

of theyr synguler gyftes & speciall diligence in the Bible) I haue ben the more glad to folowe for the moste parte."

These quotations from Coverdale himself at once fix the character of the version. He did not profess that his work was a direct translation from the original Hebrew and Greek texts; he describes it as a translation of translations. This was the meaning he intended the reader to gather. Hence Coverdale's work has never ranked as the true primary version of the English Bible. That proud position is held by the "Thomas Matthew Bible" of 1537, which enshrined the latest results of the scholarship of William Tindale.

Modern research, based upon the sure foundation of internal evidence, has succeeded in practically demonstrating the authorities Coverdale had in mind when he wrote "fyue sundry interpreters." They were the German-Swiss version of Zwingli and Leo Juda, in the dialect of Zurich, and printed at Zurich 1524-29; the Latin version of Pagninus, the first edition of which bears the date 1528; the German version of Luther; the Latin Vulgate; the Pentateuch (1529-30), and the New Testament (1525) of Tindale. As proof of the great use he made of the latter we find that the whole of the New Testament and a large part of the Old Testament give practically Tindale's text.

The very emphatic words which stand in the first paragraph of the "Prologe," where Coverdale says: "I called to my remembrance ye aduersite of them, which were not onely of rype knowlege but wolde also with all theyr hertes haue perfourmed y^{t} they beganne, yf they had not had impediment," can hardly refer to anybody but William Tindale, and to his work. The "impediment" was the imprisonment which the heroic translator was enduring when Coverdale's Bible issued from the press, and which ended only with his martyrdom.

Internal evidence shows how closely Coverdale followed Tindale, the most striking evidence being the Epistle of James, where he departs from Tindale's 1534 Testament in only three words, going back to Tindale's earlier 1525 rendering. The Epistle of Jude stands verbatim as in Tindale's 1534 Testament. As evidence of the influence of the Zurich Bible

Dr. Westcott adduces the Book of Malachi, where in many places Coverdale follows that authority against both the Hebrew and the Vulgate.

Although Coverdale's is but a secondary translation, a version derived from other versions, its importance in the history of the English Bible is very great. We cannot too carefully bear in mind that in three-fourths of the Old Testament this was the first printed version presented to the English reader. Throughout this large portion of the Bible Coverdale for the present stands alone. The New Testament, also, which is chiefly based on Tindale's translation, as we have already shown, has considerable literary merit, and many charming touches in the authorised version of 1611 belong to Coverdale.

DIVISION OF THE BIBLE.

Coverdale's Bible is divided into six parts. The first contains the Pentateuch; the second the historical books from Joshua to Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah being denominated 1 and 2 Esdras; the third Job, the Psalter, the Proverbs of Salomon, "the Preacher of Salomon," and "Salomon's Balettes." In the fourth, which embraces the prophetical books, Baruch (with the Epistles of Jeremy) finds a place before Ezekiel; but a note at the end states that the book "is not in the canon of the Hebrew," and a later notice explains that Baruch belongs to the Apocrypha but is "set among the prophets next unto Jeremy, because he was his scribe and in his time." The Book of Lamentations is thus introduced: "And it came to pass (after Israel was brought into captiuyte, and Jerusalem destroyed) that Jeremy the prophet sat wepinge, mournynge, and makinge his mone in Ierusalem; so that with an heuy herte he sighed and sobbed sayeng. . . ." The fifth part contains the Apocryphal Books arranged in the same order as in the authorised version, the Prayer of Manasses however, being omitted altogether. The sixth part consists of the New Testament, arranged in the same order as in Luther's and Tindale's Testaments, but placed in three groups: (1) the Gospels and the Acts; (2) the Epistles of St. Paul; (3) the Epistles of St. Peter and St. John, the Epistles to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Revelation. As a rule there is no division into short verses, but every chapter

is subdivided into sections indicated by letters A, B, etc., each section answering to five or six of our verses, sometimes being broken up into smaller paragraphs.

THE PSALTER.

The most interesting portion of Coverdale's Old Testament is the Psalter. It is hardly too much to say that this portion is still familiar to all who read the "Book of Common Prayer," for the Prayer Book Psalter is in essence the Psalter of the Coverdale Bible of 1535, and has obtained an abiding place in the literature of the English-speaking peoples, affecting the religious life of the generations of Englishmen, to whom, since Coverdale's day, it has become familiar.

In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, under the heading "The order how the Psalter is appoynted to bee redde," it is stated, "where any Psalms are appointed the nombre is expressed after the greate English Bible." The Psalter is not printed at the end in the Prayer-Books of 1549 and 1552, after the modern fashion, but a psalm appears as an Introit before every collect. A careful scrutiny of these at once reveals the fact that they are taken *Verbatim et literatim* from the "Great Bible" of 1539, incorporating also the changes made in the various editions between 1539 and 1541. The Psalter as read is substantially the same as that printed in 1535, and actually the same as that printed in the "Great Bible."

As the result of a comparison of the Psalms of the 1535 Bible with the text of the Zurich German-Swiss Bible of 1524-29, it has been clearly established that the Zurich version was the genesis of the translation, and that Coverdale followed it very closely, but there is evidence that he worked also with the Vulgate of Sebastian Münster of 1534-35, and the changes he made in the 1539 "Great Bible" are due to this version, upon which he evidently relied.

Out of the seventeen verses in the Prayer Book version of Psalm xc, a very difficult Psalm, twelve stand exactly as they stood in 1535; in the six psalms, xc-xcv, the amount of difference is little more than two words in each verse. The numbering of the Latin version is retained so that Psalm ix is joined with x, Psalm cxiv with cxv; cxvi and also cxlvii are divided into two. In each case a note of explanation is supplied. The greater

freedom of the translation, the introduction of words which may make the sense clearer, the tender rhythm, for the sake of which expansion and paraphrase are not unfrequently adopted, are characteristics which with many go far to atone for the inferiority of the version in point of exactness. A multitude of passages, remarkable for beauty and tenderness, and often for strength and vigour, are common to both our versions of the Psalms, and are due to Coverdale.

For the illustrations sixty-eight separate wood-blocks were employed, but by being used twice or thrice, and in one case as often as eleven times, they are made to form no less than one hundred and eighty-eight distinct pictures. (Plate 4.) This practice is most noticeable in the Apocrypha, where, including the title, eleven blocks are made to do duty for thirty-three illustrations. A battle scene is used five times, a hand-to-hand conflict five times, and the storming of a city seven times in the eighty-three pages.

THE MAP.

Between parts one and two is a map measuring $15\frac{5}{8}$ by $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches, printed from a wood-block. Very few copies of this map are known to exist. It is drawn so that the top is towards the south and the bottom towards the north.

In one of the Rylands copies the names on it are all in Latin. The head-line running along the top is: "DESCRIPCIO TERRAE PROMISSIONIS QUAE ALIAS PALESTINA, CANAAN, VEL TERRA SANCTA NUNCUPATUR." In all other known copies this inscription is in English, and runs: "THE DESCRIPTION OF THE LONDE OF PROMES, CALLED PALESTINA, CANAAN, OR THE HOLY LONDE."

In the upper left-hand corner and in the lower right-hand corner are scrolls bearing long inscriptions in Latin and in English respectively.

The block of this map passed into Nicolson's hands, and it was reissued thirty-nine years later by Richard Jugge, in his 1574 edition of the Bishops' Bible. But the origin of the map, and especially of the Latin impression, is shrouded with the same uncertainty which surrounds so many of the bibliographical details of the book.

In June, 1536, Convocation passed an apparent slight upon

The first boke of Mo- Fo. i.
ses, called Genesis.

The first dayes worke.
The seconde dayes worke.
The thirde dayes worke.
The fourth dayes worke.
The fifth dayes worke.
The sixte dayes worke

The first Chapter.

A
4 Esd 6 d
Ecclesiast
18 c 19 d
Iohn 1 a
Esa 44 c

IN ỹ begynnynge God created heauen & earth: and ỹ earth was voyde and emptie, and darcknes was vpon the depe, & ỹ spirite of God moued vpō the water.

And God sayde: let there be lighte, & there was lighte. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God deuyded ỹ lighte from the darcknes, and called the light, Daye: and the darcknes, Nighte. Then of the eueninge and morninge was made the first daye.

And God sayde: let there be a firmament betwene the waters, and let it deuyde ỹ waters a sunder. Then God made ỹ firmamēt, and parted the waters vnder the firmamēt, from the waters aboue the firmament: And so it came to passe. And God called ỹ firmament, Heauen. Then of the eueninge & morninge was made the seconde daye.

And God sayde: let the waters vnder heauen gather thē selues vnto one place, ỹ the drye londe maye appeare. And so it came to passe. And God called ỹ drye londe, Earth: and the gatheringe together of waters called he, ỹ See. And God sawe ỹ it was good. Iob 26 b Pro 8 c

And God sayde: let ỹ earth bringe forth grene grasse and herbe, that beareth sede: & frute full trees, that maye beare frute, euery one after his kynde, hauynge their owne sede in them selues vpon the earth. And so it came to passe. And the earth brought forth grene grasse and herbe, ỹ beareth sede euery one after his kynde, & trees bearinge frute &

B

PLATE 4.—FIRST PAGE OF TEXT OF "COVERDALE'S BIBLE" OF 1535

the Coverdale version, by praying the King "that he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose."

The following year (1537) Nicolson issued a quarto and a folio edition of the Coverdale version, "newly ouersene and corrected," and for the first time it was "sett forth with the kynges moost gracious licence." Although the title says "newly ouersene and corrected" there are no obvious traces of this care. The "dedication to Henry VIII" is a verbatim reprint from the first edition, except, of course, that "Quene Jane" is substituted for "Quene Anne."

The work of printing was done at Nicolson's press at Southwark, and it is possible that the folio edition was the first complete Bible printed in England.

We now find Coverdale in Paris, engaged under Cromwell's direction and patronage upon Biblical work, and in 1538 the printer Nicolson at Southwark produced two editions of a Latin and English New Testament in order that readers might be able to compare the Vulgate and English versions.

Coverdale was in hearty accord with Tindale and others in the defiance of the Romanist conservative forces, then all-powerful in the church life of England. But he was at heart a man of peace, and he was willing to go great lengths to assure the timid, and to draw over the wavering. For these good ends he prepared this edition of the New Testament, giving, side by side with the Latin Vulgate text of that day a very literal English version, which differs from his former translation.

The first of these two editions is a handsome well-printed volume, but so full of blunders that when Coverdale received it in July, 1538, while superintending the printing of the "Great Bible" at Paris, he put to press, in that city, a more accurate edition, which was finished in November. Nicolson then produced another edition, in spite of Coverdale's remonstrance, and placed upon the title-page the name of "John Hollybush." It differs from the first, but is also very incorrect.

In 1537 John Rogers brought out a Bible under the assumed name of "Thomas Matthew," which was based upon

Tindale and Coverdale. This was also printed abroad, probably at Antwerp by Matthew Crum.

THE "GREAT BIBLE."

As long as Cromwell lived, Coverdale seems to have retained a close connection with his patron, who had charged him with the duty of preparing another Bible, differing in some important respects from the two already in circulation: his own of 1535, and that bearing the name of Thomas Matthew. Neither the 1535 nor the 1537 Bible was felt to be satisfactory. The latter gave offence because of the polemical character of many of the notes, and also because of its close connection with the work of Tindale, and so with the assistance of Cromwell, Coverdale undertook to revise the text of the Bible and see it through the press. The title-page of the new Bible says that it is "truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^{e} dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges." These words do not mean, as they might, that the version was a new translation, executed by a body of competent scholars collected for the purpose, but that Coverdale had availed himself of the great influential authorities, some of which were not available for the 1535 Bible. It is probable that in revising the text for the "Great Bible" Coverdale used a copy of the "Matthew Bible" of 1537, and annotated that, just as the revisers of the 1611 version are said to have annotated a copy of the "Bishops' Bible."

The excellence of Parisian paper and typography is said to have been the cause for the selection of this city for the work, or it may be that in 1538 there was no press in England competent to execute so great a task, and so the services of Francis Regnault, the famous Paris printer, were secured. There was nothing stealthy or secret in the procedure adopted. Cromwell was the patron of this special undertaking, and through his influence a license was obtained from the King of France, Francis I, by which Coverdale and Richard Grafton, the London printer, were authorised, in consideration of the liberty which they had received from their own sovereign, to print and transmit to England the Latin or the English Bible on condition that there were no private or unlawful opinions

in the new work, and that all dues, and other obligations, were properly discharged. Under this protection Coverdale and Grafton, about May, 1538, entered into an arrangement with Regnault to fulfil their commission.

For seven or eight months Coverdale and his associates seem to have been left unmolested to proceed with their work. Writing on the 23rd June, 1538, Coverdale and Grafton inform Cromwell that they are sending two copies of what was afterwards known as the "Great Bible" of 1539, and state that they "folowe not only a standynge text of the Hebrue, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greke, but we set, also in a pryvate table the dyversitie of redinges of all textes, with such annotacions in another table, as shall douteless delucidate and cleare the same."

In December, however, there came a mandate from the Inquisition forbidding the work. Fortunately a portion was already safe in England. Many sheets were seized, yet, even these were in large measure afterwards recovered, "four great dry vats full" being repurchased from a haberdasher, to whom they had been sold. The interruption caused a slight delay, and the result was hurried and imperfect. The Englishmen fled from Paris, and Regnault was arrested.

But Cromwell was not the man to be foiled in his purpose. Being unable to secure the accomplishment of the work in France, he brought over types, presses and men to England, and in April, 1539, the volume was completed by Richard Grafton and his associate, Edward Whitchurch, "cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum," and this "Bible of the largest size," as it was then spoken of, or the first edition of the "Great Bible," was issued from the press.

The publication of the "Great Bible," and the injunction for its free exhibition in the parish churches marked a memorable epoch. The King, in a declaration appointed to be read by all curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English, justly dwells upon the gravity of the measure.

This was no doubt the "complete English text of the Scriptures" provided for public use, which by an injunction framed beforehand (in September, 1538) Cromwell, as the King's

vice-gerent required should be "set vp in sum connvenient place wythin the said church that ye have cure of, where as your parishioners may moste cōmodiously resorte to the same and reade it." It has been suggested that "Matthew's Bible" was the one intended, but there can be little doubt that it was the "hole byble of the largyest volume" that was ordered to be set up.

Bishop Bonner set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church after the King's proclamation of May, 1540, with admonition to readers to bring with them "discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour." That there should be no such number meet together as to make a multitude.

The "Great Bible" is often called "Cranmer's Bible," but without any reason. Cranmer's direct connection with the book begins with the second edition, which made its appearance in April, 1540, with Cranmer's prologue, which henceforth was attached to all editions of the "Great Bible," of which six editions appeared in 1540 and 1541, each having peculiarities which distinguish it from the rest.

A copy of the edition of April, 1540, on vellum and illuminated, now in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, was designed for Cromwell. Another copy also on vellum, was presented to the King by Anthony Marler, a member of the Haberdasher's Company who was responsible for the expense of printing the second edition. This latter copy is preserved in the British Museum.

On the 14th November, 1539, Henry bestowed on Cromwell, for five years, the exclusive right to grant a license for the printing of the Bible in the English tongue. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell is extant, bearing the same date, in which the Archbishop conveys the undertaking of the printers to sell the Bible at a price not exceeding ten shillings, on condition of receiving a monopoly of the publication. In this letter Cranmer asks "the king's pleasure concerning the Preface of the Bible," which had been sent to Cromwell to "oversee." This Bible had been committed by Henry to Gardiner and others among the bishops for their judgment. "After they had kept it long

in their hands, and the King was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last being called for by the King himself, they re-delivered the book; and being demanded by the King what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the King, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the King, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the King and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend it, but for any heresy he was sure there was none maintained by his translation."

In April, 1540, the revised Bible was issued with Cranmer's preface.

Coverdale had intended to prepare as a companion to the "Great Bible," another volume dealing with many points of difficulty and interest, and with this end in view he introduced many pointing hands and other marks into the Bible. These had to be explained, and he does this in a prologue. The volume referred to in this prologue never saw the light, or, if it did, no copy is known to have survived. What is more probable is that with the fall of Cromwell in July, all hope of publishing the companion was given up, and in the subsequent editions the pointing hands and other marks were removed.

The title-page of the "Great Bible" is worthy of notice. It is said to have been designed by Hans Holbein. It served to answer the purpose of Cromwell, at the moment, in his gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Cranmer, Cromwell, and the King himself, at full length are here distinguished by their respective shields or coats of arms. At the top in the centre the Almighty is represented in the clouds looking down upon Henry VIII, who, seated upon his throne, fills the centre of the upper third of the engraving, and is handing large Bibles, inscribed VERBUM DEI, with his right hand to Cranmer, representing the Church, and with his left hand to Cromwell

representing the laity, both of them bareheaded. Below on the right hand Cromwell appears again delivering the Word of God to the laity, and on the other side is Cranmer placing the sacred volume in the hands of one of his clergy. Below stands a preacher enforcing the duty of prayer and thanksgiving on behalf of kings, and a crowd of men, women, and children fills the whole foot of the plate in a state of jubilation crying VIVAT REX, depicting the joy of all classes at the dissemination of the Bible in English.

After Cromwell's execution in July, 1540, the same engraving was employed in all subsequent editions of the Bible, but Cromwell's arms were cut out from the title-page, and the shield left blank.

The engraving deserves very careful study in detail as offering a contemporary delineation of costume, and of classes of people in Tudor times. (Plate 5.)

In November, 1540, the fourth edition was ready for issue, though it was not published until 1541. It appeared under strange auspices, as the title shows: "The Byble in Englyshe in the largest and greatest Volume, auctorised and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted prince and soueraygne Lorde, Kynge Henry the VIII, supreme head of this his church and realme of Englande: to be frequented and vsed in every churche w'in this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenoure of hys former Iniunctions geven in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the kinges hyghnes, by the ryghte reuerend fathers in God, Cuthbert [Tunstall], bysshop of Duresme, and Nicholas [Heāth], bisshop of Rochester." Printed by Richard Grafton [in other copies by Edward Whitchurch]. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541.

Lest the work in which Cromwell had taken so deep an interest should suffer after his fall, other names, representing widely different tendencies and sympathies must give it warrant and authority, in place of the name of Archbishop Cranmer. In two later editions, issued in May and December of the same year, Cranmer's name reappears on the title-page.

We are not told how large were the impressions of later

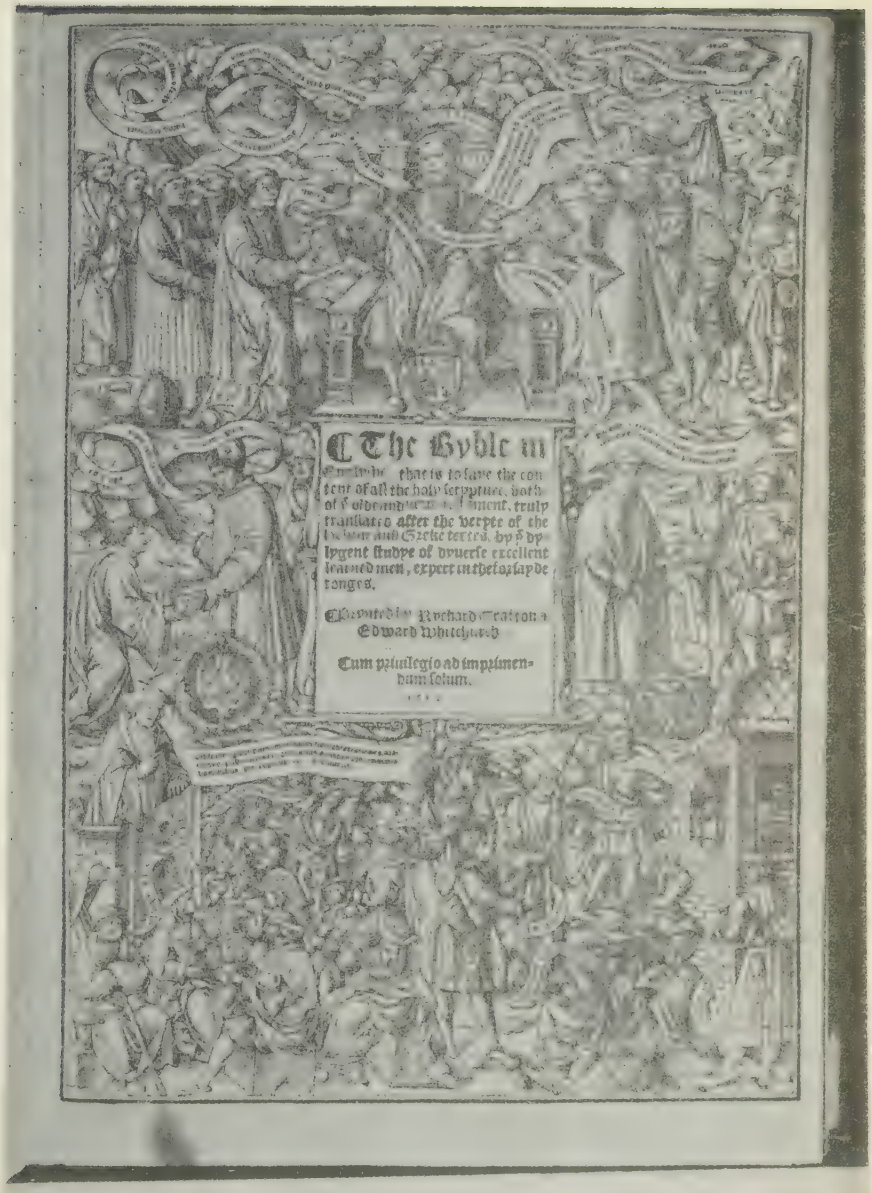

The Bible in
that is to saye the con
tent of all the holy scripture, both
of ye olde and newe testament, truly
translated after the verye of the
Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye
ygent studye of diuerse excellent
learned men, expert in the foresayde
tonges.
Richard Grafton &
Edward Whitchurch
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

PLATE 5.—TITLE-PAGE OF THE "GREAT BIBLE" OF 1539

editions, but as the first edition consisted of 2500 copies, we may reasonably conclude that the number circulated during these years was large.

Only by an output on this scale could it be possible for every parish church to supply itself with a copy, as Cromwell had directed in the Injunctions, which as Vicar-General he issued in September, 1538, and as the King commanded afresh in a proclamation of May the 6th, 1541—the limit of date being then fixed at the feast of All Saints (November 1st), under penalty of a fine of forty shillings for each month's delay.

This liberty was not of long duration, for after Cromwell's disgrace the opposite party attempted to avail themselves of Coverdale's scheme of annotations on difficult texts, for the purpose of checking altogether the printing of the Bible. Grafton the printer was committed to the Fleet, and bound under a heavy penalty not to print or sell any Bibles until the King and clergy should agree on a translation.

The plan for a new translation soon fell to the ground, for it was evident that the bishops had no real wish for a vernacular translation.

The King now directed that the universities should be entrusted with the work, but the design was frustrated by adverse influences.

About this time Anthony Marler, a haberdasher of London, who had borne the expense of the earlier editions of the "Great Bible," received from Henry a patent conveying to him the exclusive right of printing the English Bible during four years. In 1543, however, the reading of the Scriptures was by Act of Parliament placed under severe restrictions. Tindale's translations, and three years later, Coverdale's Testament, was placed under the same ban, and permission to read was only accorded to certain classes. These restrictions were enforced by heavy penalties. It was a reaction against the growing love of the Scriptures, which the opponents of the Reformation spared no pains to crush, but it was suddenly stayed by the death of the King in January, 1547.

On the execution in 1540 of his patron, Thomas Cromwell, who some months earlier had been created Earl of Essex, and

also of his friend and tutor, Robert Barnes, Coverdale found it expedient to leave England.

Shortly afterwards he married Elizabeth Mucheson, sister-in-law of Dr. Joannes Macchabaeus MacAlpinus, who had assisted in the translation of the first Danish Bible.

This practical protest against the doctrine of the celibacy of the priesthood identified Coverdale with the reforming party. He lived for a time at Tübingen, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Later he became a Lutheran pastor and schoolmaster at Bergzabern, in Zweibrücken, Bavaria, where he lived in poor circumstances between 1543 and 1547, and " where by translating in his leisure hours . . . various religious works into our language . . . he is of very great service in promoting the Scriptural benefit of those persons in the lower ranks of life, who are anxious for the truth."

During Coverdale's exile he took the name of Michael Anglus.

In the proclamation of the 8th of July, 1546, Coverdale's Bibles and other works appeared among those books forbidden to be imported, bought, sold, or kept.

As soon as Henry had " ceased from troubling," in January, 1547, the zeal for the art of printing burst forth afresh. Of the forty-five printers who had started to print in London, during the thirty-eight years of Henry's reign, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne, and within twelve months of his accession eight new men had started in business as printers, and in the brief space of the succeeding six years the number of printers had risen to fifty-seven. What is interesting to remark is that of these fifty-seven printers not fewer than thirty-one, and those the most reputable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the sacred Scriptures.

Before the end of 1547 an Act was passed by both Houses of Parliament, for the restoration of the Communion Cup to the laity. This change rendered necessary a slight addition to that part of the service which regulated the communion of the laity, and the opportunity was taken of preparing a short English office both of preparation and communion. An English " Order of Communion " was issued under royal authority

on the 8th of March, 1548. In January, 1549, the first Act of Uniformity was passed, and appended to it was the first English "Book of Common Prayer," which included the new "Order of Communion."

This "Order of Communion" reached Frankfort during the fair time, and Coverdale translated it into German and Latin. The latter was sent to Calvin with a hope that he might cause it to be printed, but this was not done.

Coverdale returned to England in March, 1548, was well received at court, through the influence of Cranmer, and was appointed chaplain to the King and almoner to Queen Catherine, whose funeral sermon he preached in September of that year.

In 1549 Whitchurch printed the second volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, with a dedication by Coverdale, who assisted in the translation.

He was one of thirty-one persons to whom was issued in January, 1550, a commission to proceed against anabaptists as well as those who did not administer the sacraments according to the "Book of Common Prayer."

In 1550 there appeared a translation of Otto Wermueller's "Spyrytuall and moost precious Pearle," with a commendatory preface by the Protector Somerset, who alluded to the consolation he received from the book but did not mention the author or the translator. These are specially mentioned, however, by H. Singleton, who reprinted the "Pearle," with the following prefatory note: "I have thought it good to set it forth once againe, according to the true copy of that translation that I received at the hands of M. Doctour Milo Coverdale, at whose hand I received also the copies of three other works of Otto Wermullerus . . . 'The Precious Pearle,' which the author calleth of 'Affliction,' another of 'Death,' the third of 'Justification,' and the fourth of 'The Hope of the Faithful,' these I have imprinted." Of these the original editions seem to have been printed abroad.

On July the 20th, 1550, Coverdale received a gift of forty pounds from the King, and on the 24th of November he preached Sir James Welford's funeral sermon at Little Bartholomew's in London.

When Lord Russell was sent down against the western rebels, in 1551, Coverdale accompanied him to assist the secular arm with his preaching, and he subsequently delivered a thanksgiving sermon after the victory. His behaviour in Devonshire gave great satisfaction.

On the 7th of March, 1551, he preached at Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the funeral of Lord Wentworth, and went with Peter Martyr and others, on the 19th of May, of the same year, to visit Magdalen College, Oxford.

He acted as coadjutor to John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, who resigned his see in 1551, and Coverdale was appointed to the bishopric by the King's letters patent, on the 14th of August of the same year. He was consecrated at Croydon on the 30th of the month and was enthroned on the 11th of September. Cranmer specially interested himself in this appointment. He was one of the eight bishops and twenty-four other persons, who were appointed in the same year, to reform the ecclesiastical laws.

John Vowell, the historian, tells us that Coverdale "most worthilie did performe the office committed unto him, he preached continuallie upon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke, in some church or other within this citie." He was hospitable, liberal, sober, chaste, and modest. "His wife was a most sober, chaste, and godlie matron."

On his accession to the episcopal bench he was very constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, during the Parliaments of 1552 and 1553.

The young King Edward VI died of consumption on the 6th of July, 1553, when barely sixteen years of age, and on the 28th of September following, Coverdale was deprived of his see, and John Voysey was reinstated as Bishop of Exeter.

Coverdale was required to find sureties, and when the protestant prisoners drew up a declaration about a proposed disputation between them and certain Roman Catholic champions, he signed in order to signify his consent and agreement.

At the instance of Dr. J. Macchabaeus Mac Alpinus, Coverdale's brother-in-law, Christian III, King of Denmark, wrote a letter to Queen Mary, dated the 25th of April, 1554, on

Coverdale's behalf. In her reply the Queen stated that he was only charged with a debt due to the Treasury; but a second appeal from King Christian (24th Sept.) brought permission to him to leave England for "Denmark, with two of his servants, his bagges and baggage without any theire unlawful lette or serche." One of the two servants is supposed to have been his wife. He was cordially received by his brother-in-law, and the King offered him a benefice, which, however, was not accepted.

He then went to Wesel in Westphalia, where there were many English refugees, and for some time he preached there, until he was sent for by the Duke of Zweibrücken, to undertake the pastoral charge of Bergzabern once more.

It has been stated that he assisted in the preparation of the Genevan version of the Bible. It is true that he was in Geneva in December, 1558, when he signed a letter to those of Frankfort in congratulation at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, praying that all private dissensions should be set aside, but Coverdale had returned to England before the first edition of the Genevan Bible made its appearance in 1560, as he preached at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November, 1559, and again on the 28th of April following, before the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and a large congregation.

In spite of his deprivation in the previous reign Coverdale assisted, with other bishops, at the famous consecration of Archbishop Parker, on the 17th of December, 1559. It is possible that it was owing to his scruples about vestments that he did not again take the bishopric of Exeter, on the deprivation of Turberville in 1559.

In 1563 Coverdale obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from the University of Cambridge, and in the same year he recovered from an attack of plague.

On the 3rd of March he was collated to the living of St. Magnus, close to London Bridge, by Grindal, who petitioned the Queen to release him from the payment of first-fruits, which came to more than £60, a request which was ultimately granted.

Grindal, who had a very high opinion of Coverdale's piety and learning, offered him other preferments, and endeavoured

to obtain his appointment as bishop of Llandaff, but his objections to vestments and other failings in uniformity stood in the way.

On the 10th of April, 1564, he was given power by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to admit Grindal as Doctor of Divinity, and in the same year he published his last book: "Letters of Saints and Martyrs."

In 1566 the Government determined to enforce a stricter observance of the liturgy, and Coverdale resigned his living. Many of those who attended the churches of other deprived London ministers "ran after Father Coverdale who took that occasion to preach the more constantly, but yet with much fear, so that he would not be known where he preached, though many came to his house to ask where he would preach next Lord's day." He preached on eleven occasions, between the 1st of November, 1567 and the 18th of January following, at the Church of the Holy Trinity in the Minories.

There is considerable difference of opinion among his biographers as to the date of Coverdale's death, but the register of burials of St. Bartholomew's places the burial on the 19th of February, 1568, and Thomas Fuller in copying his epitaph, gives the date "1568, Jan. 20" as part of it.

He was eighty-one years of age when he died. He was a celebrated preacher, admired and followed by all the puritans, but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave.

He was buried at St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave by vast crowds of people.

His epitaph

"Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum,
Ossa Coverdalis mortua tumbus habet.
Exoniæ qui Præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit & unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.
Obiit 1568. Jan. 20." [1]

[1] Fuller, T., *Church History*, 1655, ix, 65.

was copied by Fuller from the brass inscription on his marble tombstone under the communion table in the chancel, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of London. The church was pulled down in 1840 to make way for the New Exchange, but what were thought to be his remains were carefully reburied on the 4th of October, 1840, in a vault in the south aisle of the Church of St. Magnus, where the parishioners in 1837 had erected a monument to his memory.

A portrait of Coverdale, engraved by T. Trotter from a drawing at one time in the possession of Dr. Gifford, is contained in Middleton's "Biographia Evangelica," and has been redrawn and re-engraved on several occasions. This we reproduce as our frontispiece, although its authenticity is said to be doubtful.

The name of Coverdale will always be honoured as the man who first made a complete translation of the Bible into English. He was not a figure of marked historical interest. He was somewhat weak and timorous, and all through life he leaned on more powerful natures. Barnes, Cromwell, Cranmer, and Grindal were successively his patrons. In the hour of trouble he was content to remain in obscurity, and left the crown of martyrdom to be earned by men of tougher fibre. But he was pious, conscientious, laborious, generous, and a thoroughly honest and good man. He did little original literary work. As a translator he was faithful and harmonious. He was well read in theology, and became more inclined to puritan ideas as his life wore on. All accounts agree as to his remarkable popularity as a preacher. He was a leading figure during the progress of the reformed opinions, and had a considerable share in the introduction of German spiritual culture to English readers in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

On the occasion of the tercentenary of the publication of the first complete English Bible on the 4th of October, 1835, many sermons and addresses were delivered and medals in honour of Coverdale were struck.

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.[1]

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THERE is a scene at the beginning of Goethe's *Faust*, where the hero, yearning for the light of revelation (which nowhere burns more brightly than in the New Testament), sets himself to translate the Prologue to the Gospel according to John. At the very first clause however he finds himself in a difficulty. How is it to be rendered? "In the beginning was the Word". But how can so high a value be set upon the mere word? Surely, "In the beginning was the Thought". But again, is it truly thought by which all things were made? Is it not rather Power? Or should he boldly render the sense of the passage "In the beginning was the Deed"?

The difficulty which baffled Faust at the beginning of his task is one which besets the student of the Fourth Gospel all through. He finds it impossible to satisfy himself regarding the meaning of the text without raising prior questions involving the whole universe of discourse within which the thought of the Gospel moves. It is in general a sound maxim that any interpretation of the thought of a work as a whole should be based on a precise exegesis of the text. Through disregard of this maxim many elaborate interpretations of biblical and other documents have gone far astray. It is true that exegesis always demands some kind of assumption regarding the general aim and the background of the work in hand; but in many cases this demand is fairly easily met, the required assumptions being such as are more or less obvious to the intelligent reader. But with such a work as the Fourth Gospel the case is different. At

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th October, 1934.

every step the exegete is faced with the necessity of considering his text in the light of the ultimate meaning of the work. Thus Faust's difficulty was far from being one merely of translation or even of exegesis in the ordinary restricted sense of the term. The question he raised is not a question of the meaning of the word *logos*, it is the question whether the proposition 'in the beginning was the *Logos*' belongs to a philosophy which gives primacy to abstract thought or to one which gives primacy to active power. That question cannot be decided either by the lexical meaning of the terms employed or by an elucidation of the propositions of which the Prologue is composed, in their proper interrelations. It receives an answer only when the student has made up his mind about the purport of the Gospel as a whole. Thus in the study of this Gospel, exegesis of the text, and interpretation in the wider sense, are interdependent to an unusual degree.

In order to work towards a sound interpretation of the Fourth Gospel it is necessary to consider the work in its true context of thought, so far as that is possible for us at this date. If we approach it without regard to any such context, we are in danger of imposing upon it a subjective interpretation of our own, for we shall in fact be placing it in the context of our preconceived notions, which may be foreign to the intention of the evangelist. This has often been done. How then shall we define the true context?

It has often been tacitly assumed that the context is sufficiently defined by the place which the Fourth Gospel occupies in the Canon of Scripture. It is one of a group of four writings designated "gospels," and it is as a member of this group that it has been most often studied. In the pre-critical period the aim of the student was to "harmonize" it with the other three. When the critical movement arose, the emphasis shifted to the differences and contrasts which an unbiassed comparison brought to light. We may not unfairly surmise that the effect of this stage of criticism upon many minds was to leave them with the impression that John was inferior to the Synoptics in every quality that a Gospel should possess—in the historicity of its narrative, the accuracy of its reported discourses, and the truth of its picture

of " the Jesus of History ". Where they could interpret John from the standpoint of the Synoptics they found it wanting, and where it could not be understood from that standpoint they were at a loss. The fact is that the Fourth Gospel belongs only in a limited sense to the same class with the Synoptics. In some important aspects it belongs to a quite different class of literature. Its true context is only partially that which it shares with the other gospels.

At a later stage of criticism attention was drawn to these aspects of the Fourth Gospel in which it stands together with the theological literature of the N.T., and particularly with the Pauline Epistles. It became customary to describe the Fourth Evangelist as " the greatest of the followers of Paul ", and his work as " deutero-Pauline ". Bacon e.g. held that the straight line of development ran from Paul to John, the Synoptics representing in " Aramaic enclave." It cannot be denied that this approach to the Fourth Gospel was fruitful. The teaching of Paul does indeed provide a partial key to its thought which was lacking when it was placed among the historical rather than among the theological writings of the N.T.

That the Evangelist has not escaped the powerful influence of the first great Christian theologian, an influence exercised in the region with which Fourth Gospel is geographically associated, is clear. But the actual range of Pauline influence upon Johannine thought has been exaggerated. Those who tie John down too closely to the Pauline tradition are inclined to undervalue his distinctive contribution to the religion and theology of early Christianity. We must seek a wider context.

The thought of the Gospel is indeed so original and creative that a search for its " sources " or even for the " influences " by which it may have been affected, may easily lead us astray. We may be sure that its principal sources were inward, and that whatever influences may have been present have been masterfully controlled by a powerful and independent mind. There is no book, either in the New Testament or outside it, which is really *like* the Fourth Gospel. Nevertheless, its thought is related to a context, and must be interpreted with reference to ideas which were familiar to the author and his first readers.

Perhaps if we keep the readers in mind, we shall feel that our task is a more modest and compassable one than if we thought of ourselves as trying to penetrate directly into the secrets of the author's mind in the process of composition. What kind of readers, then, did he have in mind? He takes leave of them (according to what must have been the original ending of the Gospel) with the words, "This has been written in order that you may hold the belief that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that in this belief you may possess life by His name". We ought not perhaps to lay too great stress on the use of the present rather than the aorist tense of the verbs, but at least we may say that while the aorist πιστεύσητε would necessarily imply that the readers did not so far hold the Christian faith, the present πιστεύητε does not exclude readers who were already Christians, and whom the writer wished to confirm in their faith by giving it a richer content.

It is clear that the common Christianity of the first century does lie behind this Gospel, and that readers who were familiar with it, either from the earlier N.T. literature or from the preaching of which that literature is a deposit, would find here much that was familiar, from which they could advance to its new and unfamiliar teaching. The traditional view indeed, going back as far as Clement of Alexandria, is that the Fourth Gospel was written to supplement the other three, implying that it was primarily for readers already acquainted with them. That however represents the standpoint of a time when the whole evangelical Corpus was already an established instrument of Christian instruction. Windisch has recently criticized the traditional view, and shown that so far as John takes account of the other Gospels (chiefly of Mark), it would be nearer the truth to say that he writes to supersede them. At any rate, it seems that he has composed his work in such a way that it could be read with understanding by those who had no more than the most superficial acquaintance with Christianity.

This becomes clear if we compare the opening of this Gospel with that of Mark. In Mark, after a citation of prophecy, John the Baptist is introduced without any preparation, as a personage known to the reader, and then after a brief account of the

preaching of John, it continues, " About that time Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in Jordan ". There is no attempt to explain who Jesus was. He comes abruptly on the scene, and we pass at once to a series of stories about Him. The Fourth Gospel begins with a Prologue which introduces on the one hand the eternal *Logos*, and on the other hand " a man sent from God, whose name was John ". The *Logos* is incarnate in a human person, and the " man sent from God " identifies Him. Then at last we learn that His name is Jesus Christ. It is clear that a reader who knew nothing at all about Christianity or its Founder, could read that exordium intelligently, provided that the term *Logos*, and the idea of a " man sent from God ", meant something to him. But these are ideas which are in no way distinctive of Christianity.

Again, the teaching of this Gospel about Rebirth and the Living Bread is clearly based upon the two primitive Christian sacraments, but there was no need for a reader to be acquainted with these particular sacraments in order to grasp the purport of that teaching. It was enough that he should be acquainted with certain lines of sacramental symbolism, again in no way distinctive of Christianity. If as a result of reading the Gospel he came to believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, and sought to have life by His name, he would apply for admission to the Church, and would then find that this symbolism reached its fulfilment in the Christian sacraments. We may possibly find here a reason why this Evangelist gives no account of the institution of the Eucharist. He wrote for outsiders, and would not divulge to them the " mystery " into which Christians were initiated.

Thus while the evangelist has behind him the established beliefs of common Christianity, and writes in part for those who shared them with him, he addresses also another class of readers —religiously-minded people as yet outside Christianity, aware of their spiritual needs and of the means offered in various quarters for their satisfaction, aware also of the intellectual problems raised by religious belief and of the lines along which it was customary to deal with them, and yet not satisfied, but open-minded towards yet another attempt to show the way to Life.

We may now consider certain forms of religious thought which were influential in the world to which the Fourth Gospel belongs.

I. Rabbinic Judaism.

We have seen that the Fourth Gospel might be read intelligently by a person with no previous instruction in Christianity, though no doubt a Christian reader would get more out of it. But it could hardly be so read without some knowledge of Judaism. It is true that the evangelist has sometimes gone out of his way to explain Jewish terms and Jewish usages which would be unfamiliar to readers living outside Palestine, and unacquainted with Aramaic ; true also that his general attitude to Judaism is entirely external. But we are hardly through the Prologue when we meet with priests, Levites and Pharisees, a reference to Elijah, and a quotation from Isaiah, all without any explanation. Again there are in various places unexplained allusions to Rabbinic doctrines, or interpretations of the Old Testament. One example may be quoted. In viii. 56 we have the statement, " Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day : and he saw it, and was glad ". The statement is represented as being uttered in controversy with Jews, and therefore must be supposed to be intelligible to them. But what authority, acknowledged by Jews, was there for such a statement ? In Genesis xxiv. 1 it is said that Abraham *ba bayyamim*, i.e. was advanced in years ; but literally " went into the days ". Upon this literal understanding of the Hebrew was based the Rabbinic interpretation : Abraham entered by prophetic vision into all the coming days, including, of course, " the days of the Messiah ". Apart from such a reference no satisfactory explanation of the passage can be given.

Further, the allusions to " the Law " all through the Gospel are such as readily to be understood by readers with a Jewish training. The legal principles, for example, appealed to in the Trial Scene of ch. ix. can be established by quotations from the *Talmud*, and the expression, " this people that knoweth not the Law is accursed " (vii. 49) echoes many Rabbinic sayings about the *Am-ha-Aretz*, the " vulgar person ", who does not study the Torah or observe its requirements. Similarly, the

discussion about the Sabbath in vii. 22–24 refers directly to the casuistry of the Sabbath Law as we know it from the Talmud. Again, that the study of the Torah gives "life in the Age to Come" is a familiar Rabbinic maxim, and it is alluded to in v. 39—but alluded to in order to be set aside in contrast to the true way of attaining eternal life. This contrast between the Torah and the Gospel is one of the recurrent underlying themes of the evangelist. "The Law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ". A Jewish reader would be reminded of Ps. xxv. 10: "All thy ways are grace and truth", which a Midrash glosses as follows: "Grace: that means God's acts of love; truth: that means the Law". Further, the Rabbis spoke of the Torah as "water", "bread", and "light for the world". A reader acquainted with their teaching would readily perceive that when the evangelist speaks of Christ as the water of life, the bread of life, and the light of the world, he intended to set Christ in the place of the Torah as the medium of divine revelation. Finally, the Torah was identified with divine Wisdom, which according to Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus was with God in the beginning, was the creative principle through which the world was made, and "tabernacled" in Israel, mediating the divine presence with His people. In fact, all the statements made in the Prologue regarding the *Logos* (except, of course, "the Word was made flesh") can be paralleled with statements made in Jewish sources about Wisdom, or the Torah. A Jewish reader could hardly fail to understand that the evangelist meant to say that the eternal thought of God, which is the meaning of the universe, is revealed, not in the written word of the Scriptures, but in Christ, the Word made flesh.

A similar investigation would show that the evangelist expounds his teaching about the person of Christ in reference to Jewish Messianic ideas, with which he shows close acquaintance, but that he does not develop his Christology out of such ideas, but by way of deliberate contrast to them. On the other hand his mystical doctrine of the Christ seems to show definite affinities with certain speculative by-ways of Jewish thought. Thus, Hugo Odeberg (in his Commentary on *John* i-xii) emphasizes the similarity of the Johannine language about Christ as mediating

God to the world, to speculations about the mysterious angelic being called Metatron, who is prominent in the Jewish theosophical work known as the Third Book of Enoch, and appears also in other Jewish sources; and Rabbi Klein has drawn attention to certain Rabbinic passages which interpret the " hidden name " of God, *'Ani Hu*, or *'Ani w'Hu* (" I and he "), as implying an almost mystical unity of God and His people. It would appear that even that side of Johannine thought which is most remote from the predominant strain in Judaism has at least partial points of contact with a less prominent, but not less significant strain in Jewish religion of the time.

II. Greek Philosophy, and the Higher Paganism.

Augustine, in a well-known passage of the *Confessions* (vii. 9), writes,

> Thou didst procure for me through a certain person . . . some books of the Platonists translated from Greek into Latin. There I read—not in so many words, but in substance, supported by many arguments of various kinds,—that in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. By him were all things made, and without him was not anything made. That which was made in him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not. And that the soul of man, though it bear witness of the light, is not itself the light; but the Word of God, being God, is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And that he was in the world and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. But that he came unto his own and his own received him not, but as many as received him to them gave he power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on his name, I did not read there. Again I read there that God the Word was not born of the flesh nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. But that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us I did not read there.

Augustine doubtless speaks for many readers of the Fourth Gospel at an even earlier period. They found that it fitted into the context of the Greek philosophy in which they had been trained. It is obvious that it has affinity with Platonic thought. When John speaks of " real bread " as distinguished from ordinary loaves, of " the real vine " and " real light ", a Platonist would readily understand him to be speaking of the eternal

" ideas " in contrast to their phenomenal representatives. It is not necessary to suppose that the Evangelist was acquainted with Plato's writings. The theory of a world of eternal forms, of which phenomena are the shadows, reflections, or symbols, had found wide acceptance, and in one form or another it re-appears in almost all types of religious philosophy in the Hellenistic world. It seems clear that a theory of this kind underlies the Evangelist's use of symbolism, and assists his doctrine of the Incarnation and the sacraments. The conception, again, of the Son of God as Light of the World would be congenial to a Platonist who had learnt from his master to find in the sun, by whose light we see all things, the " offspring " and revealer of the Supreme Good. The thought of one descending from the higher sphere to liberate and enlighten those that sat in darkness, familiar from Plato's famous parable of the Cave, might well seem to recur in the central theme of the Gospel.

The Logos-doctrine, however, to which Augustine specially refers, is no part of the original system of Plato, though it appears in the neo-Platonism of Plotinus. That doctrine came not out of Plato but from the Stoics. From the time of Posidonius, who gave the Stoic philosophy a strong infusion of Platonism, the two schools approached one another, and on the popular level philosophy often took the form of a platonizing Stoicism or stoicizing Platonism. This mixed philosophy was one of the forerunners of neo-Platonism.

With Stoicism itself the Fourth Gospel has certain points of contact. " Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free " is a very Stoical-sounding sentiment. Dr. R. H. Strachan has well brought out such points of contact, as well as what seems to be conscious polemic against Stoic ideas in the Gospel. It is no doubt the popular forms of Stoicism rather than the rigorous doctrine of the school, that John has in view.

The fusion of Platonism and Stoicism provided an *organon* for thinkers of various schools who sought a philosophical justification for religion. A striking example is to be found in the so-called Hermetic literature. The writings so described belong in the main to the second and third centuries of our era, the earlier of them possibly to the first century. As Augustine

expressly refers to the (extant) Latin version of one of the Hermetic tractates, it is probable that he includes them (as well as Plotinus and Porphyry) among the " books of the Platonists " in which he found such striking anticipations of Johannine Christianity. In any case the affinities of thought and language between the Fourth Gospel and some of the *Hermetica* are undeniable, and they are unlikely to be due (in most cases at anyrate) to Christian influence upon the pagan writers.

The philosophy of the Hermetic writers can hardly be reduced to a consistent scheme, but their religious outlook gives a real unity to the literature. It is succinctly expressed in the words of one of the tractates : " this alone is salvation for a man —knowledge of God." Under the concept, " knowledge of God ", they include speculations about the nature of God and His relations with man and the world ; but several of the authors use language which makes it clear that the ultimate knowledge of God is of the nature of mystical vision. " Not yet are we able to open the eyes of the mind and to behold the beauty, the imperishable, inconceivable beauty, of the Good. For you will see it, when you cannot say anything about it. For the knowledge of it is divine silence and annihilation of all senses. . . . shining about all the mind and all the soul, it illuminates it and draws it up from the body, and changes it all into divine essence." Thus to possess knowledge is not only to be a " complete man ", it is to become immortal, like the gods. The Hermetists in fact could have used the language of the Fourth Gospel : " this is eternal life, to know Thee, the only real God ". With a good deal of rather loose metaphysics, they always make it clear that to know God is a profound religious experience, satisfying the ultimate needs of the soul. This comes out most clearly in the hymns which are appended to some of the tractates. In these hymns we meet with a recurrent devotional formula which again reminds the reader of the language of the Fourth Gospel, the formula of ' life and light '. Thus : " I believe and testify ; I move into life and light. Blessed art Thou, O Father ! " Again : " O holy knowledge, enlightened by thee, through thee hymning the intellectual Light, I rejoice with the joy of reason. . . . Save, O Life ! Enlighten, O Light ! " And again, " By

Thy grace alone we have received the light of Thy knowledge. . . . We have known Thee, O true Life of the life of man; we have known Thee, O most great Light of all knowledge." This conception of God as Life and Light clearly belongs to a religious tradition which is represented also in the Johannine writings. "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all." "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men."

A close study of the *Hermetica* confirms the view suggested by these comparisons, that the circle of readers for which they were written was not far removed from the public to which the Fourth Gospel was addressed. Some of the most characteristic Johannine ideas find a parallel here. Thus in several tractates Reason (*νοῦς*) mediates between God and the universe, as does the *Logos* in the Fourth Gospel. In other places we meet with the term *Logos* itself. One tractate gives to the ultimate religious experience, which is at once knowledge of God and immortality, the name of "rebirth"; and represents it as a process by which the divine *Logos* is formed within a man. To give one more example, in the first tractate of the Hermetic Corpus we have a myth of a heavenly Man, the child of God, who descends into the material sphere, and is the immortal principle in us all, which will in the end ascend again to the Father. The similarity of the language used by the Hermetic writer to that used by John of "the Son of Man who is in heaven", gives a sharper point to the contrast in the ultimate intention of the two writers.

It is clear that others besides Augustine, who having studied this literature came upon the Fourth Gospel, would feel that the pre-suppositions of the Johannine teaching were familiar enough; and for that very reason would be the more stirred by the announcement, "The *Logos* was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory." This challenging statement, with all its implications as worked out in the Gospel story, dislocated the whole philosophical scheme, and built up out of its elements a radically new kind of religious philosophy.

III. Hellenistic Judaism.

The influence of Hellenistic thought of a type similar to that of the *Hermetica* had already been felt by Jewish thinkers living in the Greek world. The best known of all such thinkers

is Philo of Alexandria, whose lifetime included the years during which Jesus Christ lived and taught in Palestine. Philo was profoundly convinced that the Scriptures of the Old Testament, when rightly interpreted, communicated that knowledge of God which is eternal life. " We pupils and acquaintances of Moses," he says, " shall never abandon the quest for the Self-existent, believing that the knowledge of Him is the consummation of happiness and age-long life ". The key to the true interpretation of Scripture he found in an adaptation of the Platonic-Stoic philosophy similar to that of the *Hermetica*.

The effort to interpret the Scriptures through Greek philosophy led Philo to the enunciation of the doctrine which is his chief contribution to theology, the doctrine of the *Logos*. The term *logos* in Greek is ambiguous. It may mean a word ; or it may mean the thought or meaning which the word expresses ; it may also convey such ideas as " rational principle ", "order". The Stoics used the term *logos* for the rational principle immanent in the universe, which was for them the only God that philosophy could recognize. Philo accepts the idea of a rational principle, but following Plato, insists that before it is immanent it is transcendent : the *logos* or meaning of the universe is to be found in the unity of the eternal ' ideas ' which exist, as Plato had said, " in a kind of heavenly region." But Philo had learned from the Old Testament that the ultimate source of all being is to be found in the one God, personal as well as transcendent, by whose " word " (*logos*) the world was made, and who by the same " word " reveals Himself to men. Thus the ambiguous term *logos* serves Philo well. He can think of the rational principle immanent in the world as identical at once with the Platonic world of ideas, and with the " word of the Lord ".

It is unnecessary here to follow the subtleties of the Philonic *Logos*-doctrine. It enables him to elicit from the Old Testament itself a theory of knowledge of God developing through a rational understanding of the universe, through knowledge of the eternal ' ideas ', to a mystical contemplation of the Absolute, which is life in the fullest sense. But because he is following the Old Testament, his thought cannot remain altogether within the limits of these abstract conceptions. He frequently uses the

language of worship, faith, and love. This is the language of personal piety, derived directly from the piety of the Old Testament, and it is usually associated with a type of mysticism which finds its goal in pure awareness of absolute Being.

It is clear that Philo approximates to the Fourth Gospel in teaching that eternal life is to know God, and that such knowledge is in part at least a matter of faith and love; and when he contrasts the slavish fear of God, as the attitude of those who do not really know God, with the love of God, which is the attitude of those who know Him and are His friends, he comes very near indeed to the Johannine saying: "I have not called you servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends." But the evangelist is able to make this personal conception of communion with God unambiguous and effective as it never is in Philo, because of his decisively different treatment of the Logos-doctrine. In Philo the *Logos* is not personal, except in a fluctuating series of metaphors. In the Gospel the *Logos* is made flesh, and so is fully personal, standing in personal relations both with God and with man. He is both lover and beloved, and to love Him is of the essence of that knowledge of God which is eternal life.

IV. Gnosticism.

The examples we have observed are sufficient to show that in the period to which, broadly speaking, the Fourth Gospel must be assigned, various currents of religious thought were flowing together. Jews and Greeks were able to understand one another, through certain conceptions which came to be assumed as postulates of religious thought. We have to reckon not only with Judaism and with Greek philosophy, but with influences from Egyptian and Oriental religions from which neither Jews nor Greeks were exempt. The age was one of syncretism, when men's minds were hospitable to ideas from all quarters. Out of various religious traditions a common background formed itself, and innumerable systems of religious belief, differing widely in detail, and also in spirit, assumed this common background. They assumed, for example, the ultimate unity of the Power behind the world; the sharp distinction between the eternal or noumenal and the temporal

or phenomenal order; the two-fold nature of man, imprisoned in matter, yet capable of a higher life; the necessity of mediation between the Supreme Being and the world; the possibility of attaining, by such mediation, knowledge of God and of the eternal order, and through such knowledge, eternal life. These are not so much positive dogmas of the various systems, as axioms with which they all work.

The boldest attempts to express Christianity in terms of these common conceptions were made by those teachers who are somewhat loosely classed as 'Gnostics.' The affinity of Gnosticism, Christian or semi-Christian, with the doctrines of Philo and the *Hermetica*, is evident. It is indeed often extravagant and fantastic where Philo and the Hermetists are restrained, the one by his attachment to the Old Testament, the others by their grasp of Greek philosophy.

It is noteworthy that when the Fourth Gospel appeared it was met in some ultra-orthodox circles with suspicion because it seemed to be Gnostic in tendency, while on the other hand it was treated with marked respect by the Gnostics, Valentinus and Basilides. The earliest known commentary on the Gospel was written by the Valentinian Heracleon. It was rightly recognized that the Evangelist was setting out to interpret Christianity in terms of that widespread background of religious ideas which the Gnostics also employed.

But when this similarity has been observed, the profound difference between Johannine Christianity and all Gnostic systems comes to view. The interest of the Gnostics is overwhelmingly directed towards the theosophical and cosmological speculations expressed in their elaborate mythology. 'The Gospel,' said Basilides, 'is knowledge of supra-mundane things.' To know the constitution of the spiritual universe with its hierarchy of discarnate intelligences mediating between the Absolute and the world of phenomena; to know how the divine spark in man came to be imprisoned in matter, and how it can escape; to know the words of power by which the soul after death can force the guardians of the spheres to give it free passage into the world of light; this is the Gnostics' way of salvation. Of anything that could be called personal communion with God they have

little to say. In the Fourth Gospel on the other hand, cosmological speculation is confined to the Prologue, and it is not represented as part of the Gospel: it serves only to establish the philosophical pre-suppositions of that direct revelation of God the Father in Christ which is the main burden of the evangelist's teaching. Whereas history plays substantially no part in the Gnostic systems, for John the historical life of Jesus *is* the revelation of God. And since God is mediated to men not through philosophical abstractions in mythological form, as in Gnosticism, but in a real person in history, the *Logos* made flesh, full scope is given to the most personal aspects of the religious life. The knowledge of God, which is life eternal, takes the form of love, trust and obedience directed towards a Person who has won such love, trust and obedience by what He was and by what He did.

Here we discern the advantage of such an approach to the Fourth Gospel as is here suggested. When we approach it by way of the other Gospels, we are struck by those elements in it which seem to have little to do with the original Christian traditions, those elements which in fact turn out to belong to the Hellenistic environment; and we are disposed to think that simple Christianity is being obscured by alien speculation. But now try to approach the Gospel as it might have been approached by its first readers, to whom these Hellenistic ideas were a part of the axiomatic structure of any religious philosophy. They are assumed as presuppositions rather than put forward as positive doctrines. When we approach the Gospel in this way, it is the radically Christian substance of its teaching that leaps to the eye, something quite new to Hellenistic thought, and destined to transform it. From the standpoint of the history of religion it is not the Logos-doctrine of the Fourth Gospel that is its new and original contribution to religious thought, and not its speculative philosophy at all; it is the announcement that the revelation of Godhead is to be sought in the words and deeds, the life and death of a Person who taught in Palestine and was crucified under Pontius Pilate. From this central idea the whole scheme of Johannine thought proceeds, and by it the conceptions he derives from non-Christian sources are remoulded into a Christian theology.

NIETZSCHE AND THE POETIC IMPULSE.[1]

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IN one of his playful moments Nietzsche makes good fun of himself as a poet. Sitting in the woods one day he hears a regular tap-tap-tapping in measure, annoying at first, but spell-binding afterwards, and he begins to talk in time with it, metrically. "Yes, sir," said the wood-pecker, "you are a poet." "Is it as bad as that with me," he asks, but he goes on with his new game notwithstanding, pinning down his thoughts and images with rhyme like a scientist collecting insects:

Als ich jüngst, mich zu erquicken,
Unter dunklen Bäumen sass,
Hört' ich ticken, leise ticken,
Zierlich, wie nach Tact und Maass.
Böse wurd' ich, zog Gesichter,—
Endlich aber gab ich nach,
Bis ich gar, gleich einem Dichter,
Selber mit im Tiktak sprach.

Wie mir so im Verse-machen
Silb' um Silb' ihr Hopsa sprang,
Musst' ich plötzlich lachen, lachen
Eine Viertelstunde lang,
Du ein Dichter? Du ein Dichter?
Steht's mit deinem Kopf so schlecht?
—"Ja, mein Herr, Sie sind ein Dichter"
Achselzuckt der Vogel Specht.

Wessen harr' ich hier im Busche?
Wem doch laur' ich Räuber auf?
Ist's ein Spruch? Ein Bild? Im Husche
Sitzt mein Reim ihm hintendrauf.

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th March, 1935.

This is from the poem "Dichters Berufung," one of the "Lieder des Prinzen Vogelfrei," appended to *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*. In another poem of the same group, "Rimus remedium," he half-contemptuously shows the poet taking refuge from the monotony, the heartlessness, the storms of life behind a barricade of ryhmes :

> —Wer jetzt nicht hundert Reime hätte,
> Ich wette, wette,
> Der gienge drauf.

And in an earlier note he observes that just as bad poets in the second half of the verse seek the thought to fit the rhyme, so men in the second half of their lives lose courage and enterprise and seek, as it were, merely to find the rhyme to the first half (II, 393).[1]

Too much must not be made of these little ironies. It was a habit of Nietzsche's, formed in student days, to amuse himself by composing doggerel rhymes. His sister tells how she travelled with him in 1883 from Rome to Como, and how they composed rhymed couplets—Knittelverse—the whole way, much as at a later date they might have solved cross-word puzzles. It is only natural that he should now and then make fun of his peccadillo ; and if these passages stood alone there would be no more to be said. But they are part of an attitude. Nietzsche has a philosophical distrust of poetry, and warns his readers against it. Poetry, he argues, has its origin in superstition ; charms and incantations, he suspects, being the oldest forms of poetry, and "yet," he continues, "after centuries of education, the wisest of us now and then becomes the fool of rhythm, at least to the extent of feeling that a thought is true, if it has metrical form and comes from the gods with a hop, skip, and jump (mit einem göttlichen Hopsasa). Is it not amusing that the most serious of philosophers, however strenuous they are in other respects, still refer to rhymed proverbs in support of their ideas ? But if a poet agrees with a truth he endangers it more than if he contradicts it. For, as Homer says, poets are full of lies " (V, 117).

This again is not a solitary outburst. Nietzsche says the

[1] The quotations from Nietzsche's works are all taken from the (Kröner) Leipzig edition in 20 vols.

same thing in several other places. The poet, he claims, is milk-brother to the liar. He has stolen all the milk and made himself comfortable, leaving the plain liar in his misery ; the poet lies with a good conscience, the liar with a bad (V, 195). And in *Zarathustra* he states his meaning more emphatically when he says that there has always been a lot of unhealthiness among those who " write poetry and seek God " (welche dichten und gottsüchtig sind). They " hate the man of intellect and that youngest of virtues, intellectual honesty " (VI, 44).

Here the charge comes clear. Poets are not only the descendants of superstition, they seek superstition. Poets, he says elsewhere, are always the lackeys of a morality (V, 35). And he points the opposition between the poet and the philosopher very acutely in another note which says : " A man who really thinks clearly does not like the poet's images ; they recall too much that is irrelevant, just as a man who hears very clearly feels the overtones of a note as a disharmony " (XI, 104). To think without overtones, to follow the intellect scrupulously, yet ruthlessly, regardless of consequences—this impulse was at the heart of Nietzsche's genius, and he finds the poetic impulse incompatible, or not wholly compatible with it.

To complete the account of Nietzsche's hostile scrutiny of the poet there is yet another charge to consider. He claims that poets are unequal to life, they are escapers from life : " Poets, in so far as they seek to make life easier for man, either look away from the present or enliven the present with a light from the past. To do this they must themselves be in some ways retrospective natures, links with remote times, with dead or dying religions. Poets are necessarily epigoni " (II, 159). Thus they only offer a temporary palliative and stand in the way of progress. And Nietzsche hints in another place that poets are moral failures for the most part—creatures that seem full of the possibilities of greatness, even moral greatness, and yet seldom reach an average level of integrity in active life (V, 129).

Now it would take more than these random strictures of Nietzsche's to bring down poetry from its seat among the mighty. It is not for the light they throw on poetry that I have quoted them, but for the light they throw on Nietzsche, because Nietzsche

was himself a poet in the English sense of the word—a poet of high, though not extensive achievement. These remarks of his are not what they seem to be at first sight—the hard-headed prosaic scepticism of the man of brains ; they come from a nature that was artistic to its finger-tips. The artist in Nietzsche was so strong that the historians are at a loss where to put him, whether in the literary field or the philosophical. Coming from such a nature, these attacks on poetry which seem at the beginning merely unsympathetic and not particularly subtle, become problematical and illuminating. What they suggest is that Nietzsche's impulses did not constitute an entirely happy family, and that intellect and poetry, reason and emotion, conflicted with each other. And this, I shall maintain, proves to be the case.

In the first of Nietzsche's chief works, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, there is no sign of the conflict. Here the poetic mind and the philosophical seem to be working in perfect unison—profound ideas passionately and imaginatively expressed. Far from distrusting the metaphors and images of poets, Nietzsche at this time seems to prefer them as giving him a preciser terminology. Not the Schopenhauerian terms that he might naturally have borrowed—since he was steeped in Schopenhauer as he wrote—but Apollo and Dionysus, the names of divinities, are the basic concepts of his thought ; the wisdom of the Greeks is not in the early philosophers to whom he was devoted, it is in their myths and legends, the poets dramatic and epic are the mouthpieces of deep philosophy ; and there is that in the mere setting-down of this fascinating work—its eloquence, its enthusiasm, its speed—which leaves the reader wondering whether it is a treatise he has been reading or a poem. Thus far light and heat, analysis and imagination, seem to come from the same source.

But the reconciliation, the fusion, is more apparent than real, the truth being that the philosopher in Nietzsche was scarcely born yet and that the poet and reader of poetry was in the saddle. The fusion, if there is a fusion, is at the expense of real philosophy. It is the poets whom Nietzsche champions at this early stage ; it is the function of the poet that he idealises, as an ability to see oneself surrounded by visions—a rapturous definition ; and it is the first of the intellectuals, Socrates, whom he attacks, calling

him the destroyer of what was best in Greek life. Looking back on his work in later years, he sees poetry in it only and feels that here he should have said his say in poetry. " I should have sung, not talked. What a pity that I did not venture to say what I had to say as a poet. I might have succeeded " (I, 5). And this, it may be remembered, is the view of Nietzsche taken by the George school ; it is essential to Bertram's interpretation, and it is the key-note of George's commemorative poem :

Sie hätte singen
Nicht reden sollen diese neue Seele !

But it is only at the beginning—up to and including *Die Geburt der Tragödie*—that this view can be sustained—the view of Nietzsche as a poetically integrated person. Next there comes that reversal of the spirit from Dionysus to Voltaire, signalised by the destructive aphorisms of *Menschliches Allzumenschliches ;* it puts the intellect on top and keeps it there—with interruptions —to the end. Not that the artist in Nietzsche disappears. There is artistry in every line of his prose and he knew it. But characteristically enough, the art of prose becomes in his view an art of opposition to poetry, a defeating of poetry, not a yielding to it or an alliance with it or an outlet for it. " Consider," he says, " that the great masters of prose have almost always been poets who published poetry or wrote it privately for themselves ; and indeed good prose can only be written in the light of poetry, for prose is a sort of continuous warfare with poetry. All its charm consists in dodging poetry and thwarting it. Every abstract noun is intended as a piece of roguishness against poetry and should be spoken mockingly. Any dryness or coolness of style is intended to bring the sweet goddess into sweet despair. Often there are approaches, momentary reconciliations and then a sudden recoil and laughter ; often the curtain is raised and a lurid glare thrown in just when the goddess is enjoying her twilights and low tones . . . and so there are a thousand delights of war, including the defeats, of which unpoetical people, the so-called prosaic people, know nothing. They just write and talk bad prose " (V, 123).

A delightful sidelight this on the subtle interplay of poetic and anti-poetic in Nietzsche's composition ; for once we see his

mind playing happily on the conflict. He is writing at a time of comparative calm and serenity in that feverish life of his and he indicates how as a prose stylist he was able to turn the conflict to account. Thus far we can agree with him. His prose is the prose of a poet, but—with one exception—it never becomes poetic ; its movement is towards speech and colloquialism, not towards rhetoric or rhythm or emotive writing. Yet it remains sensitive and distinguished even in its most careless-seeming moments. However early we date the first shadows of the prison-house—his mental derangement—we have to admit that his prose grew in mastery all the time, till at the last before his mind breaks his prose excels itself ; here it is an almost insolent mastery, and one that we should have scarcely held attainable in German, so light-footed is it, and yet so unsentimental, so practical.

Nietzsche, as he reminds us above, wrote verse as well as prose. No German anthologist is likely to forget him. But what a strange disparity is here, between Nietzsche the prose-writer speaking to all Europe and Nietzsche the sensitive, even the shrinking lyricist in German books of poetry. To begin with, what a small body of verse he wrote—the smallest, I suspect, among notable lyrical poets in German. The reason presumably is that he not only doubted the poetic impulse, but resisted it. We know that he wrote verses—probably insignificant verses, if we are to go by what is left of them—as a schoolboy, but as early as 1865 we find him forswearing poetry and music—for it will be remembered that he had musical gifts as well as poetic—in order to devote himself more strenuously to intellectual pursuits. Here the deep conflict shows its head for the first time. He writes to Gersdorff on 25th May, 1865 : " I have carefully avoided composing music, though I may compose again. Also I am not writing any more poetry." It had been a New Year's resolution. On 4th August of the same year he says to Gersdorff again : " Perhaps I wrote to you at the beginning of the year that I was not going to write or compose this year. Thus far I have kept the former pledge—a good reason for thinking that this vein is exhausted." Yet the vein was not as completely exhausted as he seems to have wished. He continued to write verses. And four years later we find him trying

to recover his poems written at school from two of his schoolfellows.

These early poems are for the most part conventional, even painfully so, dealing tritely with the stock themes of home, love, spring, parting. There is only one early poem that would have made its way without Nietzsche's name to help it. It is the poem "To the unknown God," in which on going out into the world Nietzsche sets down his belief in a God who will not release him and whom he is not willing to lose. It says: "Once more before I go my way and cast my gaze forward, I raise my hands in solitude to thee, my refuge, to whom in my deepest heart I have set up altars so that thy voice may at all times reach me. And there it is written: To the Unknown God. I am his though I have consorted hitherto with sinners. I am his and I feel the toils in which he holds me and compels me to serve him. I will know thee, thou unknown one, who takest deep hold of me, goest through me like a storm, intangible one, akin to me. I will know Thee and serve Thee."

Noch einmal. eh' ich weiter ziehe
Und meine Blicke vorwärts sende,
Heb' ich vereinsamt meine Hände
Zu Dir empor, zu Dem ich fliehe,
Dem ich in tiefster Herzenstiefe
Altäre feierlich geweiht,
Dass allezeit
Mich Deine Stimme wieder riefe.

Darauf erglüht tief eingeschrieben
Das Wort: dem unbekannten Gotte.
Sein bin ich, ob ich in der Frevler Rotte
Auch bis zur Stunde bin gebliehen:
Sein bin ich—und ich fühl' die Schlingen,
Die mich im Kampf darniederziehn
Und, mag ich fliehn,
Mich doch zu seinem Dienste zwingen.
Ich will Dich kennen, Unbekannter,
Du tief in meine Seele Greifender,
Mein Leben wie ein Sturm Durchschweifender,
Du Unfassbarer, mir Verwandter.
Ich will Dich kennen, selbst Dir dienen.

On reading the title of the poem—it is one of the best-known of his poems—one thinks first of Nietzsche, the budding radical, the seeker, turning from known gods to unknown. Our knowledge of what its author became flavours the poem and slightly distorts it. On a closer reading Nietzsche proves to be more like the fugitive run down by the hound of heaven or even the sinner returning repentant to the fold, to the known god, not the unknown. In the end this proves to be a poem quite without philosophical direction, it leaves us wholly in the dark about Nietzsche's thought, if any, at this date. All we get is the religious impulse without commitments, a little vague and a little self-conscious. This is not one of the great religious poems in German—beside Novalis and Rilke it is trite—and it is very early Nietzsche. He was nineteen when he wrote it, we must not press it too hard.

Yet in one particular it is representative. In its unintellectuality, its absence of philosophical thought or trend, it is exactly characteristic of Nietzsche's maturer verses. The truth is that Nietzsche seems nearly incapable of getting his thought into verse. We do not find in him as in so many German poets—Goethe, Hölderlin, Gottfried Keller, Hebbel—that verse draws out, elucidates, deepens his thinking. Instead, we find that it tends to suppress it. Practically all the verse of Nietzsche that is of the highest value is so unphilosophical, so exclusively emotional, so impressionistic that no stranger to Nietzsche, making his acquaintance through his verse, would suspect that his was the most explosive intellect in the Europe of his day. To judge him by these verses he would seem to be less philosophical than his lyrical fellows, not more philosophical—the least intellectual of German lyrical poets, not, as we might more nearly expect, the most philosophical.

What we get in these best verses of his is simply the quintessence of his moods. He makes us feel his intensity, as in that epigrammatic self-portrait in which he compares his nature with a flame: "All that I am turns to light, all that I leave turns to ashes, surely I am made of flame,"

Licht wird alles, was ich fasse,
Kohle alles, was ich lasse:
Flamme bin ich sicherlich.

Or his Protean changefulness, as when he says : " Only those who change and grow can remain of kin with me,"

Nur wer sich wandelt, bleibt mit mir verwandt,

to say nothing of that other poem entitled : " Bei der dritten Häutung." Or his courage and resolution : " There I shall go, trusting myself henceforth,"

Dorthin—will ich ; und ich traue
Mir fortan und meinem Griff.

Or his rapture, as in his dance-poem to the Mistral : " Mistral, cloud-hunter, dejection-killer, Heaven-sweeper, how I love thee,"

Mistral-Wind, du Wolken-Jäger,
Trübsal-Mörder, Himmels-Feger,
Brausender, wie lieb' ich dich.

Or his serenity, for he has that mood too : " The white sea sleeps, a purple sail, rocks, fig-trees, a tower, a harbour, bleating sheep, an idyll—innocence of the South, make me thine,"

Das weisse Meer liegt eingeschlafen,
Und purpurn steht ein Segel drauf.
Fels, Feigenbäume, Turm und Hafen,
Idylle rings, Geblök von Schafen,—
Unschuld des Südens, nimm mich auf.

Or his loneliness : " The crows caw and fly raggedly townwards, soon it will snow, woe to the homeless,"

Die Krähen schrein
Und ziehen schwirren Flugs zur Stadt :
Bald wird es schnein—
Weh dem, der keine Heimat hat.

Sometimes he writes a few lines that bear directly on his prose writings, but this makes no difference. For instance, he has a poem on *Zarathustra*, called " Sils-Maria " after the place in which he wrote it. But only those who know *Zarathustra* will be able to relate these lines to the thought of *Zarathustra*. The lines merely record the suddenness with which *Zarathustra* came to him, out of the blue : " Here I sat waiting, waiting for nothing, beyond good and evil, a mood all of play, sea, noon, time without

a goal. Then suddenly one became two and Zazathustra went past me,"

> Hier sass ich, wartend, wartend,—doch auf nichts,
> Jenseits von Gut und Böse, bald des Lichts
>
> Geniessend, bald des Schattens, ganz nur Spiel,
> Ganz See, ganz Mittag, ganz Zeit ohne Ziel.
>
> Da, plötzlich, Freundin. wurde Eins zu Zwei—
> —Und Zarathustra ging an mir vorbei . . .

Those in the know will seize on " Jenseits von Gut und Böse," but in this context the phrase tells us nothing or next to nothing, it can mean whatever the reader likes. Thus, even *Zarathustra*, as a subject for a poem, divests itself of its thought and becomes a spurt of emotion. And in the one lyrical poem—as distinct from the prose—in the text of *Zarathustra* which commits Nietzsche to the expression of a philosophical thought—Das trunkne Lied, which he uses deliberately to point the significance of the idea of Eternal Recurrence, the idea that every moment and situation in life will recur sooner or later exactly as it was before —we find, if we read the poem by itself, out of context, that its philosophical meaning has all but evaporated. All it is able to tell us is that " suffering says ' pass ' and joy says ' stay, stay for ever, ' "

> Weh spricht : Vergeh'
> Doch alle Lust will Ewigkeit.

No one could read the theory of Eternal Recurrence from that. The lines bear psychologically on the theory but do not state it, as Goethe in like situation would have stated it.

No doubt there are exceptions to this general finding. There are rhymed epigrams—halfway between the prose aphorisms and the poems proper—which, as Jakob Burckhardt immediately felt, remind us of Goethe, say, of the Zahme Xenien. But, broadly speaking, it holds good. You can read the thought into the verse if you know the thought to begin with, but not otherwise. Nietzsche in spite of being both a German and a philosopher cannot make his poetry philosophical ; he can only use it successfully to express states of feeling—as a substitute, one

suspects, for the music that he might have preferred to write—never to express his mind. If he were a negligible poet there would not be much to infer. But at his best he is with the best in a great tradition. There are short pieces in that golden mood of his, sometimes serene, but if serene with a serenity poised on the brink of despair—pieces that go with the most intimate moods of Hölderlin and Rilke and do not shame them. There is that little poem on Venice, doubly untranslatable because Byron had been there before him and queered the pitch,

An der Brücke stand
jüngst ich in brauner Nacht.
Fernher kam Gesang :
goldener Tropfen quoll's
über die zitternde Fläche weg.
Gondeln, Lichter, Musik—
trunken schwamm's in die Dämmrung hinaus . . .

Meine Seele, ein Saitenspiel,
sang sich, unsichtbar berührt,
heimlich ein Gondellied dazu,
zitternd vor bunter Seligkeit.
—Hörte jemand ihr zu ?

" Zitternd " gives the mood—tremolo. And there is also that little fragment, less known, " Nun da der Tag," with its perfect vowel mastery and its marvellous intimacy :

Nun, da der Tag
des Tages müde ward und aller Sehnsucht Bäche
von neuem Trost plätschern,
auch alle Himmel, aufgehängt in Gold-Spinnetzen,
zu jedem Müden sprechen : " Ruhe nun."
was ruhst du nicht, du dunkles Herz,
was stachelt dich zu fusswunder Flucht . . .
wes harrest du ?

To one who could write thus poetry cannot have been a trivial matter, however light he may have made of it in moments of intellectual distrust or of playful relaxation. To have this richly musical gift of words and to have also his psychological gift of masterly analysis and argument and to be unable or all but unable to merge the two, to have to suppress the one in order to release the other—this cannot have made for ease and happiness,

it must have had its bearing on his crisis. And it throws a significant light on the most nearly tragic of his books—*Zarathustra*, the great exception to the general rule and habit of Nietzsche's writings.

Everything goes to show that when he wrote *Zarathustra* Nietzsche knew less about what was happening than at any other point in his literary life. In all his other books of essays and aphorisms he gives the impression of being peculiarly sure of himself, not merely writing coolly even at moments of swiftest thought, but, it has been argued, cunningly envisaging his audience and adapting his volumes to what he felt to be the need of the moment, suppressing this, stressing that, leading his public from book to book, from less radical to more radical. But this, whether true or not in the main, cannot apply to *Zarathustra*, which, as Nietzsche tells us himself, did not so much come from him as descend on him : " Auf diesen beiden Wegen fiel mir der ganze *Zarathustra* ein . . . richtiger, er überfiel mich." And he tells also with pride that each of the first three parts—the constituent parts of *Zarathustra*—was written within a period of ten days. Again and again he insists that *Zarathustra* was an extreme, a classical case of inspiration.

He might perhaps have said an extreme case of the poetic impulse. For without his assistance it is obvious to any reader that *Zarathustra* is in some sense—perhaps primarily—a poem. We cannot restrict our view of Nietzsche, the poet,—as I have done thus far—to his shorter lyrics or to the poetry latent or subordinated in his normal prose. There is *Zarathustra* as well. Here at any rate the poetic impulse and the philosophical mix at high pressure in a work which arrests us as much with its colour and its imagination as with its provocative thought. And successfully too, in so far as *Zarathustra* is Nietzsche's most famous book and for many—unfortunately—his only book.

Successful it was in notoriety and in violence of impact. But there are other considerations. Was it successful in the sense of my argument? Is the fusion of poetic and philosophical a satisfactory fusion?

Hardly. Only those—and they are many—who read *Zarathustra* without knowledge of Nietzsche's previous writings will

realise what extreme intellectual concessions he made in the writing of it. In the aphorisms that immediately preceded *Zarathustra* his intellect had reached its finest point of development. Here—in *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*—it impresses us as being an almost ideal instrument for fearless modern thought, quick to sense an opponent, quick to sense a friend, crystal-clear, and, above all, scrupulously honest with itself. Some concession, no doubt, there had to be, if this brilliant intellect was to work in harness with the poetic faculty, with the emotions. Yet Goethe had managed to write his *Faust*, popularising his mind at some points more than is commonly realised, without ever making us feel that the intellectual price was too great. And Lessing had performed a similar feat in *Nathan der Weise* without seeming to sacrifice anything of his dialectical virtue. There is abundant precedent in German Literature as in English for high intellectuality in imaginative form. But in *Zarathustra* we shall not find it.

Between its two leading ideas—that of the superman and that of eternal recurrence—there is not a reconciling syllable in the whole work. No two ideas could be more difficult to reconcile. The one, holding out the prospect of mankind transcending itself in some higher type of being, is, as it were, a progression ; the other, affirming that everything, every moment, every cross-section of time, will recur and recur complete and unchanged, is, as it were, a circle. The spiritual problem is as difficult as the mathematical. It may be too much to say that they cannot be reconciled. Some of Nietzsche's commentators believe that they can, but only poetically, emotionally. What one looks for in such a case is that the inner life of the work should offer clues, hints, suggestions, of the sort proper to imaginative writing, which might enable us to feel our way spiritually from the one to the other. But we may read the work twenty times—the clues are lacking. Or they point the opposite way. The thought of eternal recurrence crops up suddenly in the body of the work as a thought which he dare not release, as a thought which he dreads. When it at last breaks through, it does so in the—intellectually—most undesirable form of a nightmare. Zarathustra encounters a shepherd—who afterwards proves to be

himself—with a snake—which afterwards proves to be the idea of eternal recurrence—crawling down his gullet. The shepherd at Zarathustra's bidding bites the head off and spits it out. So Zarathustra masters the fearful thought.

Even if this central anomaly could be resolved, the work remains intellectually uncomfortable, oscillating continually between a crude simplification and a baffling subtlety. For the former there is the section called "Von alten und jungen Weiblein," for the latter that called "Vom bleichen Verbrecher." Either kind may be justifiable in its degree, but the uneasy shifting from the one to the other is not justifiable. The only plausible, the only trustworthy intellectuality is that which remains one and the same in texture, no matter what it is dealing with, so that we can recognise and identify it at every point, as we can with Plato or Pascal or Goethe or with Nietzsche, too, in any of his normal books. Here and here only he fails us in this indispensable earnest of intellectual balance. If the idea of eternal recurrence stands like a disconcerting rock in the flowing current of Zarathustra, the current, we shall also find, is itself disconcerting; now fast, now slow; now clear, now turbid.

Poetically there is much the same to be said. The Biblical style of Zarathustra may not be what we would choose for Nietzsche or for any modern mind to express itself in, but it would be going too far to rule it out of court, even if we agree with that recent article in the *Mercure de France* which claims that Nietzsche lifted the Zarathustra manner from an obscure Masonic book of the earlier nineteenth century and that the famous style is to this extent not even second-hand Biblical but only third. In literature the proof of the pudding is in the flavouring; success and failure cannot be judged *a priori*. If Nietzsche's intention was to reach the widest possible audience, breaking down the narrowing wall of indifference that threatened to isolate him altogether—and this must have been part of his intention—the style was legitimate. It is the most widely intelligible and the most readily translatable style known to Western Man and, in so far as Nietzsche was challenging the authority of the Bible, it lent itself to subtle effects as well as to drastic, enabling him to say what he had to say in two ways, directly and indirectly, in

every sentence, putting in his hand both the sledge-hammer of strong assertion and the barb of cunning irony. For his purpose, at once elusive and rhetorical, nothing could be better.

To the effective use of this style the book probably owes its fame. Yet effective as this use is, it never becomes a real mastery like the mastery of Nietzsche's other prose, because it is never absolutely secure and invulnerable. In some respects the standards or prose, even of poetic prose, are more exacting than those of verse. In verse we tolerate inequalities without denying the prevailing mastery, as for instance in Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth. There is that in the exigencies of metre which excuses them and the supreme moments compensate. This is true of the English tradition, and it is not untrue of the German. But in unmetrical writing the peculiar exigencies are eliminated in favour of a less formal discipline. What we ask of the great prose writer is that at his less formal level he maintain a complete security of expression and this we are accustomed to find. Nietzsche's normal prose satisfies this standard. The prose mastery of *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* is a complete mastery, as complete as that of any of his French models. Can we say this of *Zarathustra*, in whose first sermon, side by side with that splendid sentence on the child ideal :

Unschuld ist das Kind und Vergessen, ein Neubeginnen, ein Spiel, ein aus sich rollendes Rad, eine erste Bewegung, ein heiliges Ja-Sagen.

(" A child is innocence and forgetting, a beginning, a play, a wheel that rolls itself, a first movement, a sacred acceptance.")

We find also this :

Oder ist es das : in schmutziges Wasser steigen, wenn es das Wasser der Wahrheit ist, und kalte Frösche und heisse Kröten nicht von sich weisen.

(" Or is it this : to go down into dirty water, if it is the water of truth, and not shrink from cold frogs and hot toads.")

Something of this crudeness, which is neither truly Biblical nor truly Nietzschean, dogs him all the way through this perplexing volume. In *Von der Menschen-Klugheit*, towards the end of Book II we read again :

Aus euren Wildkatzen müssen erst Tiger geworden sein und aus euren Giftkröten Krokodile ; denn der gute Jäger soll eine gute Jagd haben.

(" Your wild-cats must become tigers and your poisonous toads crocodiles ; for the good hunter must have a good hunt.")

No wonder he felt uncomfortable about *Zarathustra* afterwards, and even confessed in the text itself that he was stumbling and stuttering as poets do and was ashamed of playing the poet's part :

—dass ich nämlich in Gleichnissen rede, und gleich Dichtern hinke und stammle : und wahrlich, ich schäme mich, dass ich noch Dichter sein muss (VI, 288).

It is not my intention to demolish *Zarathustra*, but merely to insist that both intellectually and poetically it is a highly vulnerable work, and that the fusion of his powers which Nietzsche attempts here is not wholly successful. If there is any true marrying of intellect and poetry it must be looked for in the simpler passages ; no sooner does his native subtlety reassert itself than there is a compromise, usually at the expense of intellect. It is noteworthy that the supreme moments of *Zarathustra* are almost pure poetry of the Nietzeschean sort : Die Sieben Siegel and das Nachtlied. Die Sieben Siegel is a pæan to the idea of eternal recurrence, but exactly as in the case of das trunkne Lied the idea itself does not get into the words and is only there for those who know from the context what to look for. For how should the uninformed reader divine Nietzsche's meaning when he reads the famous refrain :

Oh wie sollte ich nicht nach der Ewigkeit brünstig sein und nach dem hochzeitlichen Ring der Ringe,—dem Ring der Wiederkunft.

The poetic afflatus—as always with Nietzsche—has blown the idea away and expressed only Nietzsche's enthusiasm for it. Goethe would have got it clear and imperishable, as he did time and again.

Das Nachtlied rises clear of all complications. It comes as near as Nietzsche ever came in non-metrical form to the spirit of his finest lyrics, and may be regarded as one of them. There is no message ; all is pure mood and nerve ; it is Beethoven done in words :

Nacht ist es : nun reden lauter alle springenden Brunnen. Und auch meine Seele ist ein springender Brunnen.

Nacht ist es : nun erst erwachen alle Lieder der Liebenden. Und auch meine Seele ist das Lied eines Liebenden.

Ein Ungestilltes, Unstillbares ist in mir ; das will laut werden. Eine Begierde nach Liebe ist in mir, die redet selber die Sprache der Liebe.

Licht bin ich : ach, dass ich Nacht wäre. Aber diess ist meine Einsamkeit, dass ich von Licht umgürtet bin.

Ach, dass ich dunkel wäre und nächtig. Wie wollte ich an den Brüsten des Lichts saugen.

. . . . . .

Aber ich lebe in meinem eignen Lichte, ich trinke die Flammen in mich zurück, die aus mir brechen.

Ich kenne das Glück des Nehmenden nicht ; oft träumte mir davon, dass Stehlen noch seliger sein müsse als Nehmen.

" It is night : now all well-springs speak louder and my soul is a well-spring.

" It is night : now all the songs of lover awaken. And my soul is the song of a lover.

" There is something unstilled in me, that cannot be stilled, it must be spoken. There is a desire for love in me that speaks the language of love.

" I am light, O that I were dark. But this is my solitude that I am girded with light.

" O that I were dark and nocturnal. How I would suck at the breasts of light.

. . . . . .

" But I live in my own light. I drink back into myself the flames that break forth from me.

" I do not know the happiness of them that take. And often I have dreamed that stealing must be more blissful than taking."

If the key to Zarathustra lies in its supreme moments, the inference must be that behind the rhetorical purpose of popularising his message there was the deeper purpose—unrecognised or not fully recognised by Nietzsche—of unbosoming himself, of setting down intimate moods of suffering and exaltation that his aristocratic nature would have suppressed, if it had known what was happening. Such an interpretation would accord well with the text in which the private and confessional note soon begins to obtrude on the homiletic and ends by supplanting it altogether in the extraordinary fourth and final book. To show this would require ampler treatment. I can only affirm it here and point out that the impulse to write thus for emotional release is a poetic impulse. And in this light there is in Zarathustra a poem, the most extended of Nietzsche's poems, hiding—often uncomfortably hiding—behind an avowed rhetoric. Once more, but now on a larger scale, poetry and intellect in Nietzsche demonstrate their fundamental incompatibility. Harnessed to the Oriental chariot of Zarathustra, each puts the other out of

its true stride, save for a few paces here and there in the long course.

The bearing of this analysis on the problem of Nietzsche may not be slight. The desire to integrate the personality, to co-ordinate its various potentialities, must exist in all men and in all artists to some extent; in the German mind it is peculiarly strong—the chief source of that problematical strain in the German poets and writers. The search for unity as the problem of character recurs as a sort of keynote in German literature from Goethe who mastered the problem to Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann and others who—relatively—failed. Nietzsche was alive to all this, but chiefly in others. Whether he saw it in himself or not, the cleavage is there in the body of his works, offering perhaps a more trustworthy clue to his peculiar tension of character than all the researches of the biographers and the psychiatrists.

A RYLANDS CUNEIFORM TABLET CONCERNING THE CONQUEST OF KISH UNDER AGGA, BY GILGAMESH.

By The Reverend T. FISH, Ph.D.(Cantab.).

(SPECIAL LECTURER IN THE SEMITIC DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.)

THE important Sumerian tablet here published is the property of the John Rylands Library in which it has lain for more than twenty-five years. It has not been possible to discover in what ancient site in Mesopotamia it was found.

Mr. Gadd of the British Museum suggested that the writer might find some parallel to the Rylands text in the recent publication of the late Dr. Edward Chiera : *Sumerian Epics and Myths*. A search through the copies of tablets in Chiera's volume revealed a text [1] which contained lines similar to some lines on the Rylands tablet. Further, that Chiera's text contained, as he himself noted in his introduction to the volume, lines similar to lines in a tablet published in 1917 by Professor Langdon.[2] An examination of all three texts showed that the Rylands tablet has lines common to the tablet of Chiera or of Langdon or of both, and lines not found on either. The details are these :

Rylands Obverse, I, 4-10 = Langdon, Obverse, 4-9.
I, 14 = Langdon, Obverse, 14.
II, 1-18 = Langdon Obv. 17—Reverse, 9.
Reverse, I, 2-14 = Chiera, 23-35.
II, 1 = Chiera, 53.
II, 2 = Chiera, 52 ?
3-4 = Chiera, 54-55.

[1] No. 29.

[2] *PBS*. X. 2, No. 5.

Unfortunately the tablet is broken, the measurements of the fragment are these :

Obverse : col. I. 2¼ inches at widest ;
col. II. 2 inches at widest.
length of line dividing the two columns, 3¼ inches.

Reverse : col. I, 2¼ inches wide
col. II, 1⅞ inches wide
length of line dividing the columns : 3 inches.
Of column II (reverse), the blank measures 2 inches.

What we should like to know is how many lines have gone with the broken pieces of our tablet. We cannot assume that the number of lines on our tablet was the same as that on the other two tablets where these duplicate our tablet. Hence it would be wrong to calculate from the comparative table of the *Reverse* given above, that there were between line 14 of col. I (Chiera line 35) and line 1 of col. II (= Chiera line 53) 53 *minus* 35 lines. Equally, that on the *Obverse* between line 14 of col. I (= Langdon 14) and line 1 of col. II (= Langdon 17) there were 17 *minus* 14 lines. And it should be noted further that our tablet is not merely a duplicate of certain lines of the other two tablets, for it has entire lines peculiar to itself.

It is clear that matter of the three tablets is the same. But there are variations and it is the variations that give to each tablet its special value. It is not possible, perhaps, to decide which of the three accounts is the earliest. The form of the cuneiform writing on the Rylands tablet may appear to some to give it a slight priority in time over the other two, say end of the 3rd millennium B.C. In order to show at a glance the variations between the Rylands tablet and those of Chiera and Langdon, it seemed good to transliterate not only the Rylands tablet but also the parallel lines of the other two. Unless I err, those two tablets have never been transliterated by the scholars who edited them or by others.

The copy of the text and the transliterations have been submitted to the eminent Sumerian scholar, Fr. Maurus Witzel, O.F.M., Professor of Assyriology at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome. He not only improved on my transliteration,

but urged the immediate publication of the tablet about which he writes :

> " Die Bedeutung des vorliegenden Textes liegt darin, dass derselbe ein Duplikat ist zu einem aüsserst interessanten und wichtigen Texte, so zwar, dass er Chieras Text und dessen Ergänzungen teilweise bestätigt, verstehen hilft, interessante Varianten bietet und in verschiedenen Punkten erweitert ; vor allem bietet er uns den Anfang der Erzahlung, so dass die ganze Episode ziemlich luckenlos wird.
>
> " Der Text handelt von der Eroberung der Stadt Kisch (und somit vom Ende der Ersten Kisch-Dynastie) durch Urukkunter Gilgamesch ; dieser wird als Zeitgenosse des letzten Königs der Dynastie von Kisch, Agga, des Sohnes Enmebargesis, erwiesen."

The interpretation of the text, given above in summary by Fr. Witzel, is certain. But, to me at least, the circumstances of the conquest of Kish described in the text are not clear. Such texts as this one are notoriously difficult to translate and the most and best I can do with prudence is to make an exact copy and tolerable transliteration of the tablet, for the use of others more competent.

It remains to place the event recorded on the Rylands tablet in its setting in the traditional history of the land called " Sumer." The traditions of the earliest kingdoms have been preserved on the so-called King Lists. The most important of these is in the Ashmolean Museum and was published by Professor Langdon in vol. II of *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, as WB. 444. First come the antedeluvian kings, eight in number, " they ruled 241,200 years. The deluge came upon the land. After the deluge had come rulership which descended from heaven. At Kish there was rulership." Thus is introduced the First Dynasty of Kish, whose twenty-first and twenty-second kings are Enmenbargigur (written most clearly in the Rylands tablet " Enmebargiesi ") and Agga. With Agga ends the list of the kings of the Fist Dynasty of Kish, after which, according to WB. 444, " rulership passed to Eanna " whose kings, twelve in u[illegible]er, form the First Dynasty of Erech. The fifth king of

this dynasty was Gilgamesh the hero of the great Epic of Gilgamesh. This same Gilgamesh is the hero of the struggle recorded on the Rylands tablet. The main item of news is that he was contemporary of Agga the last king of Kish I., under whom rulership ceased. It has long been suspected that Kish I and Erech I were in part contemporary. Here we have a tradition in writing that the fifth king of Erech I was contemporary with the last king of Kish I. And that is news.

The question of the absolute and the relative chronology of these dynasties is one of the big problems of Sumerian history. Some think Erech I must be put in the fifth millennium B.C.; others, in as late as the third. It is something to have the local tradition, as represented in the Rylands tablet, of the relative chronology of Kish and Erech.

I wish to thank Fr. Maurus Witzel for his great help and Dr. Guppy, the librarian of the Rylands Library, for ready permission to publish in the BULLETIN.

TRANSLITERATION.

OBVERSE, Column I.

[1] / / /-gi_4-a ag-ga dumu en-me-bár-gi_4-e-si-gé
/ / /-ta ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš-ra Unu^{k1}-šù mu-un(?)-si-lah-es
/ / /-Giš-gibil-ga-meš igi-ab-ba-uru-na-ka
/ /-ba-an-gar gù-ni-tuk lugal-e
[2] *gù-ba-an-gar gù-ni-tuk* / / / / / / / /
5. / / / / /-li-da PÚ kalam til-til-li-da
PÚ-til-li-da PÚ kalam-til-til- / / / /
/ / / / /-tur-da kalam til-til-li-da
giš-gar-tur-da kalam til-til-li-da
/ / / / / / da túg-lal til-til-li-da
PÚ u da túg-lal til-til-li-da

[1] Perhaps *kin*-gi_4-a as on Chiera, left edge *lú kin-gi$_4$-a Ag-ga*.

[2] The italicised lines are duplicates; those on *Obverse* are from Langdon, those on *Reverse* are from Chiera; see comparative table set out above.

/ / / Kiš^{ki}-šù gù-nam-ba-an-gá-gá-an-dè-en ^{giš}ku-ga-àm ib-sìg-gi-en-dè-en

é-Kiš^{ki}-a gù-nam-ba-an-gar-ri-en-sì-en ^{giš}ku nam-ba-an-ib-sìg-gi dè-en

9. 10. / / /-gar-ra ab-ba-uru-na-gé (10) ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš-ra ? mu-na-/ / / /-gi$_4$-en

ʔ-gar-ra guruš-uru-ki-na-ka ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš mu-un-na / / / / / / /

/ / / /-li-da PÚ kalam til-til-li-da

/ / / /-tur-da kalam-til-til-li-da

/ / / /-da túg-lal til-til-li-da

/ / / / Kiš^{ki}-šù gù-nam-ba-gá-gá-an-dè-en / / /-ga-am ib-sìg-gi-en-dè-en

é-Kiš^{ki}-a gù-nam-ba-an-gar-ri en-sì-en ^{giš}ku nam-ba-an-sìg-gi-dè-en

15. / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /-meš en-Kullab^{ki}-a-gé

/ / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / gál-la-e

/ ma-gíd

Obverse, Column II.

dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-ʔ -ba-bi ba-an-a[g] / / / / / / /

dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-(erasure)*-bi ba-an-ag-eš-àm*

bàd-gal im-mi-aš ki-uš-sa-a-ba

bàd-gal bàd an-ni ki-uš-sa

ki-dur-maḫ an-ni gar-ra-a-ba

ki-dur-maḫ an-ni gar-ra-ni

sag mu-e-sum za-e lugal ur-sag-me-en

sag mu-e-sum za lugal ur-sag-bi

5. sag-LUM-LUM-nun an-ni-ʔ-ne ?

sag-LUM-LUM-nun an-ni gar-ra-ni

ara$_8$-a-[n]i-gim [n]í-[m]u-ni-in-te

ara$_8$-a-ni-ta-a-gim ní-ba-an-te

ud-bi al-tur a-ga-bi-ta al-bir-r[i]

ud-bi al-tur a-ga-bi-ta al-bir-ri

lú-bi-NE igi-nu-mu-un-da-/ / / / / / /

lú-bi-NE igi-nu-mu-da-u$_5$ ʔ-gu-uš

ud-bi-a ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš en-/ / / / / / /
ud-bi-a ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš en-Kullab^{k1}-gé
10. ʔ-guruš uru-na-šù ḫar-ra-ni-/ / / / / / / /
/ / / / / / / / / / *na-šù šà-ga-ni an-dul ʔ ḫar-ra-ni ba-an-du*
arad-da-ni en-ki-šár-ra gù-mu-na-/ / / / / /
/ / / / / *ni en-ki-šár-ra gù- mu-na-dug$_4$-e*
ne-šù šukra á mé sa ʔ ḫe / / / /
ne-šù šukra á mé sa ḫe-im-mi-gi$_4$
^{giš}ku ag-á-zu ḫe-mi-zu
^{giš}ku ag-da-zu ḫe-mi-im-gi$_4$
ní-gal me-lám-ma ḫe-/ / / / / / / /
ní-gal me-lám-ma ḫe-im-dim-dim-gal
15. e-ne ara$_8$-a-ni-ta ní-gal / / / / / / / /
e-ne ara$_8$-a-ni-ta ní-gal GAB i-lu šúš
dím-ma-a-ni ḫe-/ / / / / / / / / / / / / /
dím-ma-ni ḫe-suḫ galga-a-ni ḫe-bir-ri
ud-nu-5-àm ud-/ / / / / /
ud-nu-5-àm ud-nu-10-àm
ag-ga dumu / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /
ag-ga dumu En-me-[b]ár-gi$_4$-e-si unu^{k1} zag-ga ba-an-dab-bi-eš

Reverse, Column I.

bir-bir-tur-ri / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /
bir-bir-tur-ri lil$_5$ gin-ni mu-ni-in-gaz-gaz-ne
egir-zabar-ku /
egir-zaba[r] duʔ-ʔ ag-ga ^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš bad-šù im-ti giš-ne
unu-ba tur-tur-lá Kullab^{k1}-a-gé / / / / / / /
bar-ba tur-tur Kullab^{k1}-gé me-bil ne-ib-sìg
5. guruš unu^{k1} [1]-ga-gé PA . KU ʔ-ag ʔ šu-ne-ne ne-/ / / / /
guruš unu^{k1}-ga-gé giš-ba-ag á-ne-ne ne-in-dab
giš-iḳ KÁ-gal-la-gé tar-ba ne-in-/ / /
giš-iḳ KÁ-gal-la-ḳa tar-ba ne-in-du

[1] The sign is clearly *unu*; the copy is faulty.

en-ki-šár KÁ-gal-aš ba-ra-è
en-ki-šár KÁ-gal-aš ba-ra-è
^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš bàd-da gú-im-ma-/ / / /
^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš bàd-da gú-im-ma-an-lal
igi-bar-ri-da-ni ag-ga igi-ba-ni-in-du$_8$
ag-ga igi-ba-ni-in-du$_8$
10. e[rí] lú-še lugal-zu-ù
erí lú-še lugal-zu-u
lú-še lugal-mu ni-me-a
/ / / / *lugal-mu*
ne-in-dug$_4$-ga-gím nam
ne-in-dug$_4$-ga-dím nam
šár-ra ba-an-šub-bu-uš-a šár-ra ba-an-šár-ri-eš-a
šár-ra ba-an-šub-bu-uš šár-ra ba-an-zi-gi-eš
šár-ra saḫar-ra ba-an-šár-ri-eš-àm
šár-ra saḫar-ra ba-an-da-šár-ri-eš
15. kur-kur dù-a-bi ba-an-da-šú-àm
kur-kur-ri dù-a-bi ba-an-da-šú

Reverse, Column II.

/ / / Babbar-dúr-šù ud-bi-ta e-ra-an-gi$_4$
igi^{d}Babbar-šù-[d]úr ud-bi-ta e-ra-an-gi$_4$
/ / / / / / / / /-b]i (or [g]a) Kiš^{ki} [1]-šù šu-ba-ni-in-ba[2]
/ / /-gibil-ga-meš en-Kullab^{ki}-a-gé
^{d}Giš-gibil-ga-meš en-Kullab-^{ki}-gé
/ / / / /-zu dùg-ga-àm
zag-sal-zu dùg-ga-àm

[1] The original has a clear *Kiš*.
[2] Is this a variant of Chiera, line 52 : " *Ag-ga Kiš^{ki} ud/ / šu-ba-ni-in-šu.*"

PLATE I.

OBVERSE. I.

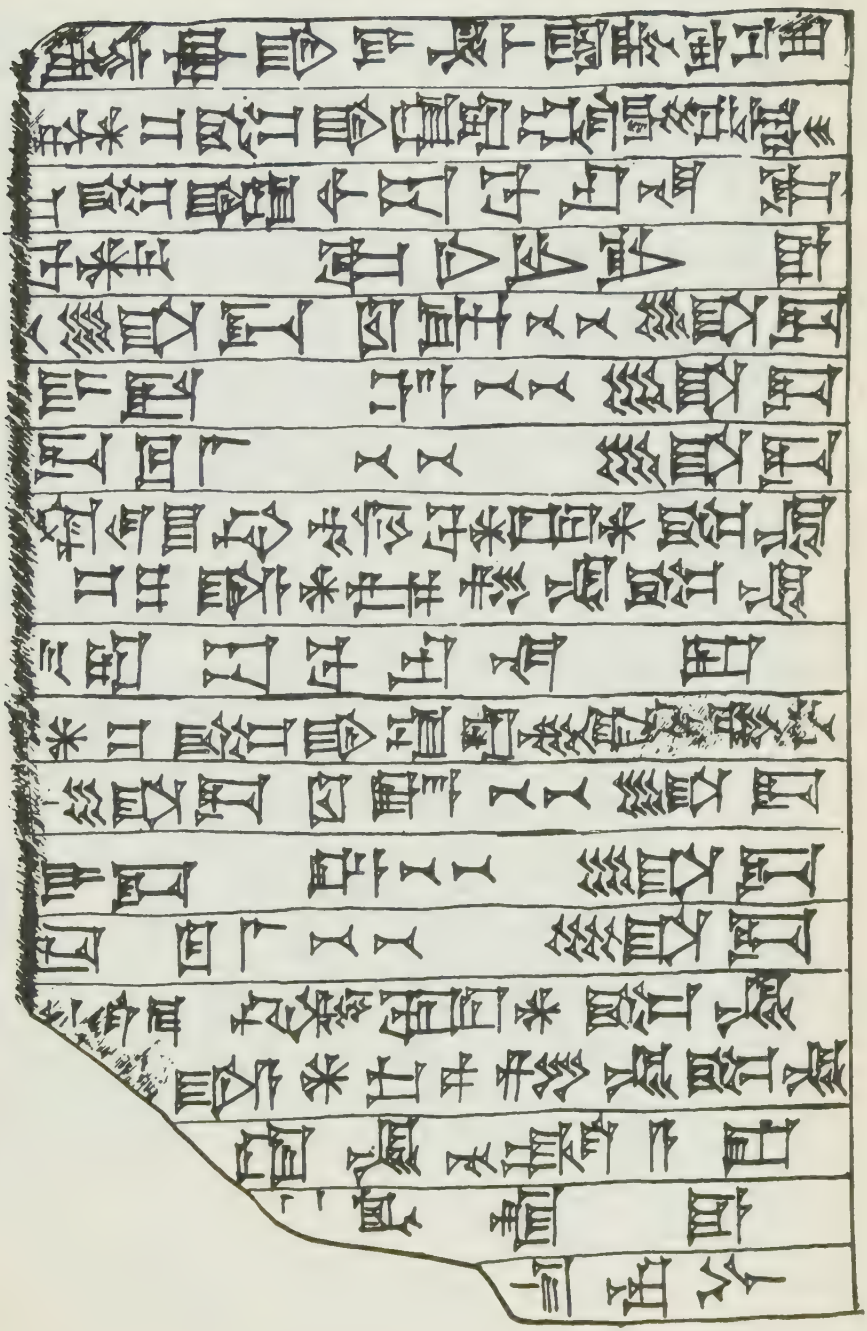


PLATE II.

OBVERSE. II.

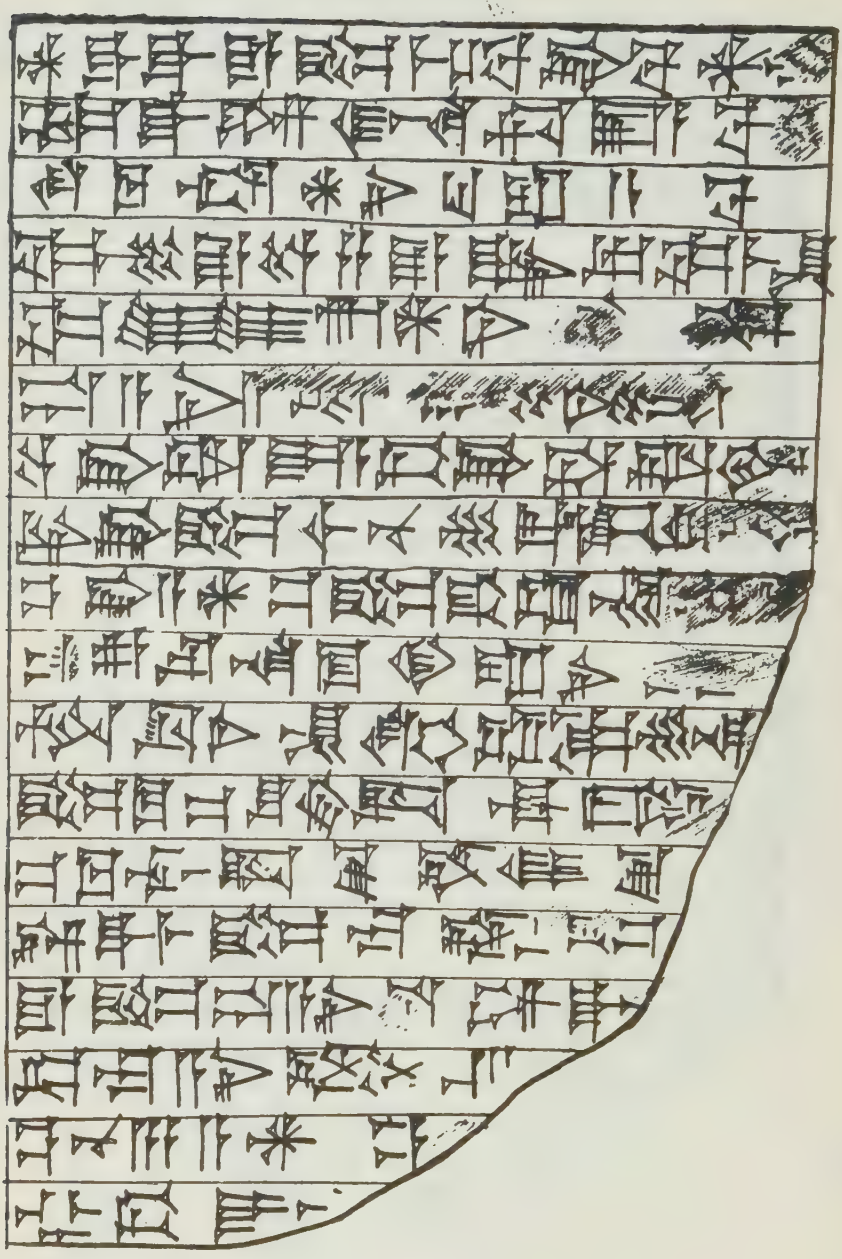


PLATE III.

REVERSE. I.

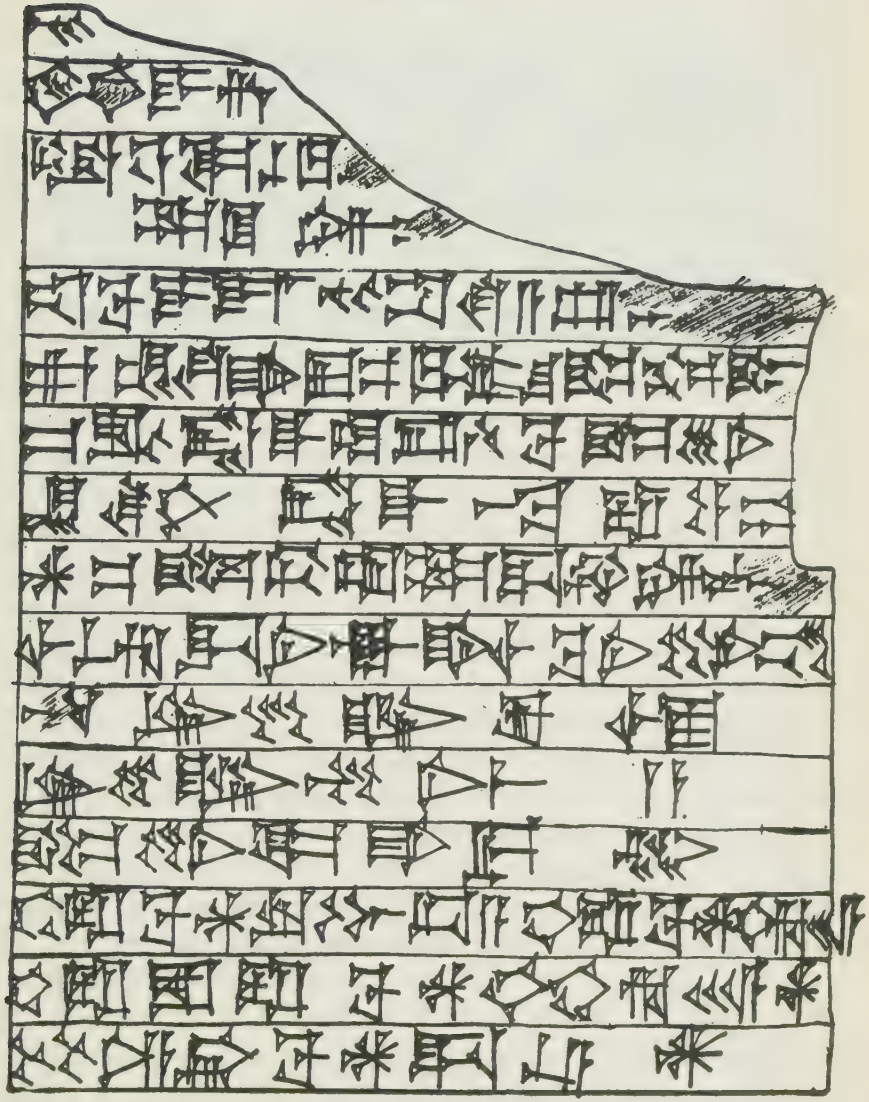
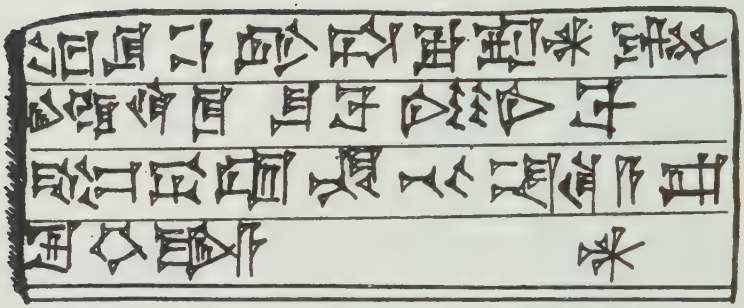


PLATE IV.

REVERSE. II.



THE BEARING OF CHANGES OF CLIMATE ON HISTORY.[1]

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CHRISTMAS carols about the snow, Norse legends of the Fimbul winter, ruined cities in central Asia, implements of ancient hunters found with bones of animals in Saharan wastes, tree stumps in British peat-bogs, all prompt questions about change of climate, and it is the intention of this article to gather together the data concerning one of these which had special influence upon an early stage of history. Not all the *prima facie* suggestions can be accepted; for example, many ruins in central Asia point rather to diversion of rivers or disorganisation of irrigation systems than to changes of climate. Of the major climate variations known to science as glacial and interglacial phases of the Pleistocene Age it is not the purpose of this article to speak; in that field attempts are being made to build up a synthesis which is still very far from satisfactory. Minor but still very important changes within more recent times bear far more closely on our history and, though they have been studied by many workers, for various regions, there is still some point in making an effort to set down together the main results of such work for the various parts of the north-western quadrant of the Old World.

Among the most fruitful of these studies are those of the Baltic area which is specially illuminating because it is even now in a critical position. The beech tree extends for only a limited distance inland from the south coast of Norway and Sweden. The oak reaches its northern limit near the edge of the high land

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 9th January, 1935.

north of the great lakes of Sweden, and beyond this limit the possibilities of wheat cultivation diminish rapidly. The last-mentioned point shows that we have here not only a vegetational, but also a social and economic transition. With a cooler, wetter climate the transition might well come to occur in Denmark, South Sweden, or even farther south, and, in particular, would be likely to encourage men to rely on cattle-raising, if that were still possible, in place of crops which would not ripen well if summers were too cool and damp.

At the dawn of the age of metal, Denmark and South Sweden, largely within the present limits of the beech tree, exhibited a considerable development of civilization. The beech was at that time of small account if it occurred at all ; the alder and oak and hazel were the characteristic trees if we may judge from pollen analysis,[1] subject to the reserves that Godwin [2] has so well indicated. In this case, however, the reserves are less serious because the results of pollen analysis broadly confirm the work done by Blytt [3] and by Sernander [3] on vegetational changes before pollen analysis began. Sernander, in particular, sought to relate vegetational changes to the archæological succession. Much has been written concerning this early Baltic civilization, but attempts to interpret it as in any considerable degree autochthonous have not been approved by Danish and Swedish savants. Elements with maritime affinities connected with the Atlantic coasts further south, and elements that appear to have spread from south Russia or the south-east of central Europe played their parts, and in some measure cross-fertilized one another. Though metal appears only after a considerable delay, there are some indications that the people concerned had been in touch with regions that knew metal, and that here, as is usual in Europe, the ' Neolithic ' stage is merely a preliminary stage of early metal culture.

[1] Article " Pollenanalyse " (von Post) in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. 10, p. 220, 1928.

[2] Godwin, H., " Pollenanalysis," *New Phytologist*, Vol. 33, 1934.

[3] An introduction to the bibliography of this work is available in Gams, H., and Nordhagen, R., "Postglaziale Klimaänderungen," *Mitt. Geogr. Ges. München*, Vol. 16, 1923.

When the Baltic region reached the stage at which it apparently sent south the amber of its shores, and received tin from Bohemia to alloy with the copper it may have obtained in the north, an elaborate Bronze Age culture developed, dependent at first on external stimuli as its forerunner was. Both were, however, characterised by a high grade of taste and craftsmanship, the earlier especially in flint and pottery, the latter especially in ornament on metal.

The two phases may be looked at from another point of view. One feature of the earlier culture-complex was the perforated stone axe-hammer found especially in the 'single-graves,' indicating an influence that penetrated into Jutland by land from the south-east. That this is the origin of the hammer of the rustic god Thor is widely agreed. The later culture brings in the bronze sword and spear, and their associations with Odin are generally accepted.

The alder-hazel-oak-elm-lime flora reached a maximum (probably a second one) about the time of this bronze culture of the north, which need not be dated before about 1400 B.C., and may well be still later. This was evidently a period warmer than the present, and much warmer than one which was to follow it.

Sophus Müller,[1] the leading scholar on the subject, thinks the great bronze age of the Baltic lasted from about 1400 until at least about 800 B.C., when a decline set in but was arrested for a time by an impetus from the south, less refined than earlier ones but nevertheless vigorous. Ornament becomes coarser and larger, and probably we shall not be altogether wrong in suggesting that we have to do with an emphasis on the rougher cattle-raising life at the expense of the older cultivating-trading societies. Hypertrophy of ornament, and then a rapid general decline soon supervene and, apparently, by 500 B.C. or a little later a low level had been reached. Some revival occurred in the third or second century B.C., and at that time styles current in central Europe penetrated northwards while finds of sickles suggest that cereal cultivation had become important. As, in due course, the lake region of Sweden came to be specially important and to

[1] Müller, S., *Bronzealderens Kunst*, 1921.

spread its fashions eastwards across the Baltic Sea, we may suppose that the climate of 200-100 B.C. was not cooler or wetter than the present one.

Iron came into the Baltic region perhaps not long after 800 B.C., but gained in importance chiefly about two centuries later. The vegetational changes, confirmed by pollen analysis, are interesting for purposes of correlation. In Scania the proportion of oak, elm, lime, alder, hazel, etc., declined very strikingly and the beech became important, the birch also increasing for a while. Inland, oak, elm and lime practically vanished, hazel and alder declined, beech hardly appeared, pine and spruce became dominant. On the milder west coast the oak-lime-elm group diminished to some extent, alder and hazel maintained themselves more or less, pine did not become dominant but birch increased.

The correlations between the vegetation succession and the archæological sequence are not as fully established as could be wished, but the present general view is that the date of the Grenzhorizont or change of vegetation was about 600 B.C., and that it occurred almost suddenly.

The increased importance of the beech does not give much clue to change of winter temperature, as that tree survives intense winter cold, e.g. at considerable heights on the Carpathians at the present time. It does, however, suggest decrease of summer evaporation, to which the beech leaves are sensitive. Sernander thinks there was a decline of summer temperature, a shortening of the growth period and an increase in precipitation. Probably this took the form of snow in winter, thus cooling the spring. Rivers would run full, evaporation would be low, long and miserable winters would alternate with summers that lacked the assured warmth desirable for crops.

In South Germany the peasantry of the late Bronze Age was apparently overwhelmed by men who were more particularly stock-raisers, and who spread especially from the east-south-east. They brought in increasing amounts of iron from 900 or 800 B.C. onwards, and the new fashions penetrated after a fairly long delay into central Germany, and appear to have affected the lower Rhine area, which however went through a preliminary

phase of poverty about the seventh century B.C. The change of mode of life seems significant in view of what has been said about climate. The beech spread in South Germany and Switzerland much as it did in Denmark, as Bertsch [1] has shown. Switzerland's archæology tells an analogous story. Pile villages around the lakes had a phase of prosperity at the dawn of the Bronze Age, and then declined, but there was a very important recrudescence of this development reaching a high water mark of prosperity, followed by a calamitous decline some time after iron had been introduced. The decline has been argued out as following a growth in size of the lakes with accompanying flooding of the villages. The second period of prosperity extended before and after 1000 B.C., that of the flooding has sometimes been placed round about 850 B.C., but the crisis may have reached its most acute stage a good deal later. The cultures of the early or Hallstatt Iron Age penetrated only quite slowly into Switzerland, and the spread of stock-raising at the expense of crop growing peoples, as in South Germany, may have been a factor of the change as well as a consequence of change of climate. It is probable that the older populations moved out westwards. The growth in importance of the famous site of La Tène in West Switzerland in the third century B.C. is one mark of a revival of population that had probably begun about 400 B.C. and was connected with growth of intercourse with Mediterranean lands.

In the Alps themselves metal seekers and traders of the Bronze Age had used high passes subsequently ice-covered, and some finds of the very early Iron Age on the heights suggest that the change came about 800 B.C., to be followed by a revival about 200 B.C. The interval between decline and redevelopment on high ground may have been longer than it was around the Swiss lakes, and this is what would be expected.

The parallelism between the Baltic and the Alpine-South German region is strongly marked. A period of widespread settlement and agricultural development (the Urnfields culture in Germany, etc., the 'Bel Age du Bronze' of the Swiss pile dwellings) is followed by a phase of stock-raising and, later, poverty becomes

[1] Bertsch, K., "Palaobotanische Monographie des Federseerieds," *Bibl. Bot.*, 103, 1931.

evident. Later still comes a revival which naturally is earlier in the lower areas of west Switzerland and South Germany than it is either in the higher Alps or in the north.

The story of the British Isles in relation to these changes will no doubt be an interesting one when more fully worked out. Palstaves are among the most common antiquities in Britain, and they indicate considerable activity, including utilization of many river banks. The Irish gold washings had probably given added importance to our islands at least at a somewhat earlier stage, and Cornish tin was no doubt also playing a part, though the use of land routes across England appears to have made the old sea route from Ireland via the Pembrokeshire and Cornish peninsulas to Europe less important for a time. The sea route revived late in the Bronze Age and one may suggest that the climate change may have begun and made land routes less feasible. While the late Bronze Age culture persisted along the sea route, a relatively poor Iron Age culture reached south and south-east England about 700 B.C.

The late Professor A. Henry told various scientific workers that, near Enniskillen, and elsewhere in Ireland, Bronze Age cairns and termuli resting on rock are covered by several feet of bog. Mr. W. J. Varley of the University of Liverpool has similarly stated that peat, which is not now spreading, has, at some time, extended itself over the upcast from the trench of the wood-circle made at some period, probably after 1000 B.C., by men of a Bronze Age culture at Bleasdale, Lancs. On many a moorland can be found remains of ancient trees in what is now bog up to at least 1400 feet above sea level. Cotton-grass peat[1] grew in pre-Roman times to a considerable thickness over a spot at Marsden which yielded Bronze Age remains. Evidences of early Iron Age occupation on high sites suggest the dampness of the lowlands at the time.

In Britain, as elsewhere, there is no doubt of the revival which followed. The sea route gained in importance at a period which has been variously dated, but the present tendency is towards the acceptance of the fourth century B.C., by which time a route

[1] Woodhead, T. W., and Erdtman, O., "Remains in the peat in the S. Pennines," *The Naturalist*, 1926.

across southern France bringing Atlantic lands into touch with Massilia (Marseille) and other Mediterranean centres was becoming a recognised feature. Somewhat later, a cross-channel connection brought to south and south-east Britain, but at first especially to the old and still dominant area of Wessex, the La Tène civilization in several areas. The development of culture attained was a very considerable one, as the excavations now in progress at Colchester are increasingly showing. Here again there is thus parallelism, as would be expected, with north-west and central Europe, but the changes are less extreme.

In France the story has features like those noted for South Germany so far as the Paris basin is concerned, and features like those noted for west Britain in the west. A spread of the beech has been noted for Auvergne about parallel with that inferred for Switzerland, South Germany and Denmark. The great activity of the French region in the late Bronze Age, apparently long maintained, with movements and influences from the Swiss lake culture of the time, does not seem to have been able to prolong itself into the early phase of the Iron Age so far as is now known. In Champagne and the Aisne, usually on the drier soils, population increased markedly about the fourth century B.C. and the plough spread widely at that time.

In the west there is every probability that late Bronze Age intercourse by sea was quite active, and one notes especially the enormous hoards of late Bronze Age socketed axes found in Le Cotentin. Whether that area was a centre of manufacture dependent on Cornish tin has not been proved ; it is not improbable. The increase of activity and evidence of Iron Age culture in the west develop, as in west Britain, after the fourth century ; but here, as in west Britain, continuity from a remote past is a feature. Le Rouzic [1] has described the ' Camp du Lizo ' in the Morbihan, with a tumulus, containing a dolmen, standing in its interior. Hut foundations and remains of an oven are other features. The tentative interpretation of the finds here is that a site sacred in the age when most dolmens and other megaliths were built was occupied in some phase of the pre-Roman Iron Age by people who still appreciated the old monument. Miss

[1] Le Rouzic, Z., " Premières Fouilles au Camp du Lizo," *Rev. Archéol.*, 1933.

Collum [1] recently investigated a dolmen at Tressé in Brittany, and found in one part of it a burial to be dated after 300 B.C. The authoress was of opinion that the dolmen was built at that late date, but her photographs suggested rather that it was far older and re-employed for burial in the centuries just before Roman times. If this point of view be allowed, we have evidence of activity in Brittany in these centuries with a continued attachment to old time beliefs. This persistent loyalty has long been, and still is, a feature of the extreme west of Europe which seems to absorb new ideas without being overwhelmed by them.

In south France a Ligurian culture on both sides of the Franco-Italian Alps linked itself with megalithic culture stretching from the Gulf of the Lion to the Bay of Biscay. Fashions of the early Bronze Age came in from central Europe and, as Childe has said, the old-fashioned megalithic ideas were relegated [2] to Aveyron-Ardèche on the north, and to the eastern Pyrenees and north-east Spain on the south of the way through south France. Apparently that way through was not of much account in the middle and late Bronze Age, but in the early Iron Age new relations developed. Already in the late Bronze Age people were spreading westward into east France from South Germany, and the process went on after the introduction of iron. The movement spread south-westwards into south France after a time (probably about 700 B.C. or later) and the south (both Garonne and lower Rhone basins) becomes much more important than previously in the maps of archæological distributions. Meanwhile the old Ligurian area straddling the Franco-Italian Alps seems to have been divided, the highlands lost much of their importance for a while.

The above archæological succession becomes understandable when we remember that, in a period of warmth and drought, south-east France would be almost arid, whereas with conditions slightly cooler and wetter than now it could be prosperous.

The Iberian peninsula had a phase of great development around its south-east, south and west coasts, as well as to some

[1] Miss Collum, Paper at *Internat. Congress Archæology*, 1932.

[2] Leeds, E. T., "Dolmens and Megalithic Tombs of Spain and Portugal," *Archæologia*, Vol. LXX, 1920; and Childe, V. G., *Dawn of European Civilisation*, 1925, pp. 277-282.

extent inland, about the dawn of the Metal Age. It is generally agreed that activity diminished markedly in the middle Bronze Age, but that some remnants of old coastwise intercourse along Atlantic shores may have survived. In the late Bronze Age a revival set in and the early Iron Age witnessed considerable activity in the Iberian region. An important early feature was the spread of a people with a Hallstatt type of culture, from either South Germany or some area influenced by South Germany, via France into Catalonia.

Later on, about 350-250 B.C., a special development in north-west Spain gave the castros, earthworks or dry-walled ramparts around relatively low hill-tops. These castros are often grouped in numbers close together, on strategic points controlling entries into rias or submerged valleys, e.g. the ria of Betanzos. They often have three ramparts with one or both intervening zones as a considerable stretch of level arable land. The civilisation of the castros has affinities with that of the Hallstatt phase of the early Iron Age, but one cannot at present adequately balance influences penetrating through northern Spain against maritime factors of the situation. Some of the castros remained in use in Roman times. It may be noted that in Wales one finds certain localities full of earthworks close to one another, and earthworks of non-Roman types which remained in use in Roman times.

While the castros were developing, regions to the south were in contact with Phœnician and Greek traders.

Enough has now been said to bring out the fact that there was a Spanish revival about the middle of the last millenium B.C., when northern Europe was at its lowest ebb. The rain-bearing cyclones formed over the Atlantic were no doubt, at this period, headed off the north and centre of the continent by strong winter anticyclones, and they therefore tended to run in along the Mediterranean, as happened in the cold spell early in 1929, giving the coasts of the Great Sea an increase of winter rain. More snow in the north meant later spring and probably cooler summers, and consequently more summer rain on the north-western coast lands, but not necessarily much more rainfall on the interior of the continent, though reduction of temperature might make that rainfall more effective. Thus, while the north

declined, and Germany, north France and England tended towards stock-raising, the south of France and the Iberian peninsula revived.

Apparently there was an amelioration of temperature, without much decrease of rain, some three centuries B.C. The beech remained characteristic of the Danish area, and Alpine relations did not change much. Consequently, we do not find evidence of renewal of drought in either Spain or Mediterranean France. In the early phase of recovery the mobile stock-raisers of central Europe, ready for war, were able to spread and conquer, and the continent witnessed the conquests of the Celtic-speaking bands, spreading far and wide and restricting their northern neighbours for a while, until the conflict between Celtic dominion and Roman expansion towards the Rhine and Danube gave a chance to those northern neighbours to expand behind and into the lands of Celtic speech as climate improved again, and eventually to oust this group of languages from central Europe.

Let us now turn to eastern Europe. The steppe of south Russia had a period of great activity in a period now definitely ascribed to the third millenium B.C., though Tallgren was inclined at one time to date it to the first half of the second. After that active phase, the steppe became very empty during the second millenium, but Bronze Age cultures existed near its borders, around Kiev, which was then related to lands farther west, and on the Kama and the Kazan-Samara section of the Volga, which had a development largely independent yet not altogether lacking links with the west and Scandinavia. This is a natural accompaniment of a phase of warmth and drought. As there was a conspicuous Bronze Age development in the Minusinsk area of Siberia, it is likely enough, on this ground above, that warmth spread over central Asia. The advance of the steppe-land Indo-Aryans into India and of the partly Indo-Aryan power of Mitanni into northern Mesopotamia, as well as a prominent development of Anatolia under the Hittites with an Indo-Aryan element among their rulers, all point to moves outwards from the great steppe, and Chinese legendary history can be so worked out as to give a date rather before the middle of the second millenium B.C. for a change of dynasty involving the incoming of

peoples from the dry interior. It would seem, from archæological dating, which of course is none too certain, that, as one would expect, these movements of expansion took place before the warmth and drought of the steppe attained a maximum, for we may suggest as a hypothesis that this maximum occurred about the time when even the north of Europe was enjoying warm summers and the Alpine passes were well used, i.e. about 1400-1100 B.C. In south-west Asia in the early part of the second millenium herdsmen were on the move, disturbing the settled peoples ; we have here the notable case of the Hyksos entering the Asiatic side and ruling Egypt. Later on, when the warmth was presumably near the maximum, the power of the herdsmen waned and the old Egyptian power reasserted itself to a considerable extent over Palestine for a time. But the region was later disturbed by the commotion of peoples around the Mediterranean Sea. The Philistines established themselves on the coastal belt below the Judæan plateau, Israel was in disorder, Crete and Troy and the Mycenæan city states fell and Greece went through a phase of poverty and invasion about 1000 B.C.

Then the tide turned. The steppe under Cimmerians and Scythians became active, and the latter made themselves felt near Brandenburg in the west as well as on the borders of Iran, and probably of China also, between 700 and 400 B.C.

Assyria, the Medes, Babylon and the Iranian power under Cyrus and his successors were all developing in turn. China was taught by Lao-Tse and Confucius, Indian by Mahavira and Buddha, Iran by the disciples of Zoroaster, Israel by the prophets, and Greece by the early philosophers, so men's thoughts were turning towards abstract and general ideas. The story of Israel does not specially suggest climatic change, and the evolution traceable through the Old Testament Scriptures might be simply progress in equipment or organization, but a change affecting Europe and the Mediterranean must have influenced Palestine and there is a hint of change from the nomadic patriarchal ideal to that of the father of the family under his own vine and his own fig tree. One could not imagine the Rechabites with their vow to live in tents as a special order in patriarchal days.

What of Italy? In earlier millenia Italy did not develop greatly, but towards the end of the second millenium B.C. a spread from the Ægean brought increased activity, and later on people appear to have poured in at both ends. A.U.C. is reckoned to be 753 B.C. So this part of the jig-saw puzzle fits very well, while, if it be true that the mountains of Europe began to suffer from increased cold about 900 B.C., we have further reasons for understanding pressure of northern invaders on Greece ere the cold had reached its maximum.

There remains to be considered the very interesting belt that may be called east central Europe. Mahr [1] has made some important comments on evidence from Hallstatt in the Austrian or eastern Alps. There, mining for salt became important about 900 B.C. and great cemeteries developed near the mines, which took the form of galleries that were propped up by woodwork and illuminated by burning sticks or chips. There are indications of many roof-falls, and the surfaces covered by these are free from water-runnels; so Mahr rightly thinks the mining took place in a dry period. Finds from the galleries cannot well be dated much after 800 B.C. It would seem that, though salt getting remained important, new methods then developed. Here also, as in central Europe generally, stock-raisers were establishing themselves with burials by inhumation rather than by cremation, the rite of their predecessors. Mahr thinks that the new method of salt getting was by solution, using the enlarging springs of a wetter period. Hallstatt remained active until about 400 B.C., and then activity ceased for a time. This decline for a few centuries is characteristic of Austria generally, but it should be noted that it seems to date from the time when the west of Europe was beginning to redevelop after its period of depression.

Looking much farther north, we note that in Silesia there was a fairly dense population during the late Bronze Age cremating its dead and placing the urns in 'urn-fields.' It was driven to build fortifications in the last phase of its history, probably by reason of invasion from the west. Though a fair population continued for a while, its numbers apparently declined

[1] Mahr, A., "Das vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt," Vienna (Nat. Hist. Museum), 1925.

very markedly about 400 B.C., to revive again, as did those in the Hallstatt area, about 100 B.C. The stories of parts of Poland and Finland are to some extent analogous. This coincidence of decline and redevelopment between Austria and the north-east of central Europe is at least an interesting one, the more so perhaps as its dates do not coincide with the dates of the phase of poverty in western Europe. It is worth noting that the decline is apparently less marked in Bohemia and Moravia, which last was very important in the first half of the last millenium B.C. for its iron and the trade route from the Adriatic via March and Oder to the amber beaches of the south Baltic coasts. Here also, however, the very last centuries B.C. witnessed an expansion of activity with fortifications and villages in clearings.

Is it possible within the limits of the present argument to interpret the decline of population in Austria and the north-east of central Europe, remembering that the decline is far less marked in Bohemia and Moravia? Or is there some fault in the difficult construction of archæological dating? The decline seems too late to be ascribed to the Scythian invasion and, besides, that could hardly be brought in in the case of Austria. A climatic hypothesis may be very provisionally offered here.

Let it be granted that, about 700-400 B.C., the cold anti-cyclone of winter was severe in western Europe. Towards east central Europe winters would no doubt be very hard but precipitation was probably relatively light, because much of the available moisture from the ocean would fall in the west. There was thus nothing that need drive men away and, moreover, was not south Russia active at that time? When, later on, the cold passed away to some extent, ice caps melted and gave, one imagines, torrential conditions in Austria and consequent spread of forest and swamp. There may well have been more rain in the north-east of central Europe and more floods from rivers fed from snow. It is notorious that the early phase of Europe's recovery from its last truly glacial phase seems to have been very unfavourable to mankind apparently because of extension of pine forests and swamps. It is possible that a partly analogous state of affairs developed in portions of central and east central Europe after the age of the Fimbul winter.

Men in the meantime, though beginning to be equipped with iron, were as yet hardly ready to cope with the forest. But in the last two centuries B.C. ironwork improved very greatly, and men became more able to cut down forest and to settle on its hillbrows and in the clearings. This redevelopment apparently, as one would expect, began in the west and took some time to spread to the east. In the north it seems to have been well marked and to have been a factor of the rise of the Germanic peoples who were then able to press southwards upon the Celts.

Causes of climatic change remain mysterious. A relatively small change would start a permanent snow-cap on Ben Nevis,[1] and that type of change would react in many ways. Water would be locked up as ice in the north, and sea level would be depressed, this again lowering temperatures on land, since these decline with altitude. Variations of tides have been suggested as causes, but the extent of those variations seems to be insufficient to account for any great changes, and in fact the causes of the climatic changes are best left for future study.

That the climatic changes both of the second and of the last millenium B.C. were potent factors in human affairs seems clear enough. The dry warm phase of the second millenium B.C. sent nomads out from the steppe with the horse and the sword to careers of conquest in India and Europe, and also led to the increase of peasantries and the improvement of standards of life in central and north-western Europe. Organization and craftsmanship both developed markedly, but the Mediterranean zone in the later part of this phase was disturbed and poor.

In the last millenium B.C., whereas northern and Alpine Europe were impoverished, Mediterranean lands and western Asia went ahead, gained in organization and developed leisure which gave possibilities of expression in thought, while the steppes of south Russia and Turkestan renewed their activity. Naturally, the spread of the use of iron, improvements in implements and probably in boats, developments of organization and such inventions as that of coinage played their parts too, but we

[1] See Dansey, R. P., "Permanent Scottish Snow-beds," *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. LIV, 1919; and Sölch, J., "Der Ruckzug der letzten Vergletscherung," *Sitzb. der Heidelberger Akad der Wissenschaften*, 1932.

need to appreciate the concurrent change of climate to understand the events which, through the rise of classical civilisations and of universal religions, played such a part in the story of mankind.

It would not be appropriate to close this short review without paying a tribute to the thought that has been devoted to this subject by a number of students, among whom one may be allowed to mention especially Professor J. L. Myres, Drs. Gams and Nordhagen, Dr. C. E. P. Brooks and the Analysers of Pollen samples, especially in Baltic lands.

DIETRICH OF NIEM: HIS PLACE IN THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT.[1]

By E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.Phil.

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THE average civil servant does not write memoirs or reminiscences. After retirement, he may translate the classics, or fulminate against departmental extravagance from his riverside retreat at Marlow or Cookham. Reluctance to write out of office hours was equally true of the medieval clerk, who laid down his *stylus* with pleasure. Even outstanding figures like the legal author of the *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliae* on the secular side, or the exalted compiler of the *Liber Censuum* on the ecclesiastical, left no histories of their own times. But every now and then there are exceptions to this rule: men like Godfrey of Viterbo, Acerbus Morena the Podesta of Lodi, and the great Otto of Freising in the service of Frederick Barbarossa; Petrus de Ebulo, the court poet of Henry VI; Joinville, devoted biographer of his sacred master; or Nicholas of Butrinto, attached to the court of the Emperor Henry VII in Italy. In England the outstanding example must have been Richard fitz Neal, the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, whose large *Tricolumnis*, or three-columned history of Henry II's period, seems irrevocably lost. Among the *curiales* proper there is Cardinal Bozo who revised and continued the biographies in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and his exact contemporary in the Curia, that splendour of English scholarship, John of Salisbury, who was in the Pope's household from 1148-1153 and was later clerk to Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. John's *Historia Pontificalis* comes nearest to personal reminiscences,

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th February, 1935.

for, as Dr. Poole shows, much of it was written amid the events it describes. Then in Boniface VIII's time, nearly 150 years later, we have Cardinal James Stefaneschi, who took verse for his medium. Most of these—and there are others—are not persons who spent the greater part of their lives at the royal or the papal court. They came to the service of their masters when they were mature men, sometimes, like John of Salisbury or Barbarossa's uncle Otto, after a prolonged period of academic study or cloistral government. More significant are those who, having made the court and its administrative services their life's work, narrated from the inside, whether in verse or prose, the history of their masters' doings and times, or the circumstances of their own existence. The period of the Schism and the Councils provides particularly good instances of this type: in England there is in fact Hoccleeve, secondary in the privy seal office, and Adam of Usk, the ecclesiastical lawyer, who passed from the court of Canterbury to the Roman Curia; and in Rome itself there are Gobelin Person, Dietrich of Niem and Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, the Papal secretary.

Bruni, so useful historically, has about him something of the detachment of the humanist, and perhaps loved Florence better than Rome; but the Germans Gobelin and Dietrich, both originally clerks of the diocese of Paderborn, were the true professionals, men of an older and more genuinely medieval stamp than Bruni, and their careers are alike in several ways. Each lived in the midst of the exciting events of the Schism and the Councils of Pisa and Constance. Each wrote the history of his own times, Gobelin in his *Cosmodromion* (printed by Meibomius), the book of the "Course of the World," in which he is not an original authority till chapter lxix of the Sixth Age; Dietrich in his book *On the Schism*, and his *History of the life and deeds of Pope John XXIII till his flight and imprisonment.* Each was so impressed with the abuses of the Schism under which he lived and worked that he turned reformer, Gobelin (to quote Creighton) "as an asserter of the episcopal jurisdiction as a practical means of reforming the Church": [1] Dietrich as a convinced Conciliar, returning in spirit and in letter to the

[1] *History of the Papacy during the Reformation*, i. 428-29.

primitive days of the Church, when the Emperor might summon General Councils to secure unity and the eradication of evils. Both show remarkable perception of the significant events in the period they describe; but Dietrich, in many ways more passionate and partisan than Gobelin, has a more speculative mind, and analyses with greater depth the theory and practice of ecclesiastical sovereignty. In his later days he wrote what Gobelin was perhaps too disillusioned to attempt. On a basis of principle and history alike, he pinned all his faith to the Council, and became one of its most active propagandists. The conversion of such an experienced administrator is too striking an event to be passed over.

There is something pathetic in the spectacle of a faithful man watching the disintegration of the machinery which he has helped to work successfully and efficiently. The Curial system evolved by the Avignonese Popes certainly worked. If a largely increased revenue for the Papacy, through reservations and expectatives, was one of its achievements, justice was not forgotten; the Curia illustrated the old tag about the intimate connection of that commodity with finance. The censorious view of this system prevalent among English historians is mainly due to acceptance of literary rather than administrative evidence, without any attempt at statistical exploration; but it also comes from the habit of looking at a papal bull of provision, or a grace conferring a benefice when it fell vacant, as a document complete in itself, a papal bolt from the blue; whereas in practice it was usually only one of a series of transactions begun at the request of an individual or community on behalf of its members, and ending with a thorough examination of the local situation by independent persons, so as to determine the right of the impetrant to the benefice.[1] In fact it marks one stage in a judicial process. The method of making the request, the exact words by which it was granted, and their implication, were determined by custom, embodied in the rules of the Papal chancery: subtle and delicate regulations added to, here a little and there a little, by each successive Pope with the co-operation of the vice-chancellor and other leading

[1] Cf. G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (1935), ch. vii.

members of the chancery. When it is recollected that for a majority of Churchmen throughout Western Europe the obtaining or augmentation of a livelihood was dependent, in the initial stages of the process, upon the observance of these rules by petitioning party and by Curia alike, the responsibility of senior office in the chancery becomes abundantly clear.

Such office Dietrich [1] held. He was born sometime in the 1340's (the exact year is uncertain) in the little Westphalian town of Brakel not far from Hameln. Like Gobelin he joined the Curia at Avignon. We first hear of him during Urban VI's pontificate in 1370 as a notary of one of the auditors of the Rota, Franciscus Lando, later Cardinal of Venice. He was, in fact, a judge's clerk, employed in writing and attesting documents in the processes referred by the pontiff to his master. The first great change in his life must have been his migration with the Curia of Gregory XI to Rome on the stormy journey of the early days of January, 1377. Here in the City he witnessed some of the scenes at Urban VI's election, wrote his two treatises on curial administration, the *Liber Cancellariae* and the *Stilus Palatii abbreviatus*, the fruits of the position to which Urban VI almost immediately appointed him. For on the 11th of May, 1378, he appears as *scriptor*, and in his *Liber Cancellariae* (1380) he is called *abbreviator et scriptor*. Although the division of the abbreviators into the " greater and the lesser parks " appears in documents of a somewhat later date, the former class is distinguished at this time by the titles " assistant to the vice-chancellor " and " those in the greater presidency." Now a notice of Dietrich at the time of the Council of Basel speaks of him as " *inter praesidentes in cancellaria domini nostri unus de maioribus et toti curiae tempore suo notus.*" [2] We may take it, I think, from various references in the *De Schismate*

[1] The most recent biography is that of Hermann Heimpel, *Dietrich von Niem (c. 1340-1418)*, Münster (Westf.), 1932. That of Georg Erler, *Dietrich von Niem* (Leipzig, 1887) is still valuable for the details of Dietrich's life, as is also the monograph of H. V. Sauerland (*Das Leben des Dietrich von Nieheim*, Göttingen, 1875). For Dietrich at Constance, cf. the chapter of Dr. Heinrich Finke, " Dietrich von Niem in Konstanz," *Forschungen und Quellen zur Gesch. d. Konstanzer Konzils*, 1889.

[2] Quoted in Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

and from the knowledge shown by him in the technical treatises on administration, that from the time of Urban VI onwards Dietrich belonged to the more important category. The drafting of the minute for papal letters might be entrusted to an individual abbreviator ; but the examination of the document was the task of a committee or " rota," i.e. the presidents. It was responsible business, and required legal knowledge and experience greater than was exacted by the mere business of drafting, which could be done by anyone who had learned the *stylus curiae*. That Dietrich was trusted and respected in the Curia appears from a letter from the abbreviator Johannes Stalberg (another fellow-countryman), saying that without him nothing could go forward at the Curia ; and a younger contemporary historian, Dietrich Engelhus of Brunswick, calls him " *cortisanus maximus in modernis.*" Such was his position throughout Urban VI's pontificate, as well as under Boniface IX, until he was provided with the bishopric of Verden in 1395. From June in that year, throughout 1397 and during part of 1398, he was in Germany, but without ever residing in his cathedral city. Some of his letters are dated from Lüneberg, and he appears never to have obtained effective possession of the see. The explanation is probably to be found in Archbishop Otto of Bremen, his predecessor in the diocese of Verden, who had secured possession of Rothenburg and allied himself with the Duke of Brunswick and the city of Verden to keep Dietrich out. Dietrich was back in Rome at the beginning of July, 1398 ; but Boniface IX, to his great annoyance, gave the Bishopric of Verden next year to Conrad of Soltau. Yet Dietrich still called himself " Elect of Verden " ; in 1401 he matriculated under that title in the University of Erfurt. This is the only certain reference we have of his connection with any University, though he professes to have studied deeply in both laws. He did not stay long in the university town. At the beginning of 1403 he was again in Rome, present at the consistory wherein Boniface IX recognised Rupert of the Palatinate as king of Germany. He remained there under Innocent VII and Gregory XII, until the Curia moved northwards, ostensibly to meet, and negotiate with, Benedict XIII. He accompanied the Pope on

the unhappy journey through Viterbo and Siena to Lucca (January to July, 1408). At Lucca in May, 1408, one can see him beginning to waver in his loyalty to Gregory, as it became abundantly clear that the Roman pontiff, under the pressure of his relatives, was not taking the negotiations with his opponent seriously. The complete break came when Gregory left Lucca on the 14th of July, 1408. We do not know exactly when Dietrich passed over to the Conciliar interest; nor was he at Pisa when the Council opened in March, 1409. But he had been working in Germany for the Cardinals. At Cologne towards the end of 1408 he presented Archbishop Frederick with his *Nemus Unionis*, a document book of the futile negotiations between the pontiffs, and he is found corresponding with Cardinal Landulf Maramaldi, who was actively working for the Council in Germany. After November, 1409, we find him back in his old place at Alexander V's Curia, and later on serving John XXIII, whose career he later depicted in a remarkable polemical memoir. From 1411 to 1413 he was still in Rome, but plying his pen in the Conciliar interest. In August, 1410, he had written the first draft of his most important Conciliar work, the *De modis uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam in concilio universali*, and in the days between the summoning and the opening of the Council of Constance he completed the treatise, *Avisamenta edita in concilio Constanciensi* which was for a long time attributed to Gerson. In the Council of Constance he concerned himself mainly with the process against John XXIII; a number of the tracts on this topic written by him for the Council are published in Dr. Finke's *Acta*. We have other glimpses of him in the German nation at the Council, but with John's deposition his main task had been accomplished. It is possible indeed to criticise him for working during the years 1411-1413 in the service of the man who, he was convinced, must be discarded by the Church. But he evidently regarded it as his duty to carry on the administration of the Curia as he had known and practised it at an earlier time, without prejudice to the decisions which he hoped that the Church would later take, and an attentive reading of his Conciliar treatises shows that he is not open to the charge

of serious inconsistency. He lived to see Martin V's election, but not the Concordats, and he died in occupation of a canonry in St. Salvatius at Maastricht towards the end of March, 1418.

These bare dates show that his working career extended over one of the formidable crises in the history of the Church. His written works reflect nearly every phase of events, and are the record of disappointment and later of recovered hope. They give us in the first place an intimate picture both of the *curialis* himself and of his surroundings in the early days of the Schism. Rome, despite the Romans, was evidently not an uncongenial place for the Teuton. In the early fifteenth century, a letter of Joan Swan, the wife of William Swan, a resident English proctor, mentions the fact that her husband had asked her to come out to him in Rome and to learn German (which he regarded as essential). She would come out, she said, but the vernacular she could not manage.[1] Now the phrase Joan uses is *eruditio vulgaris lingue*, which implies that it was regularly spoken among certain of the *curiales ;* and so many were the German pilgrims that came to Rome that in his later days, when he was well off from prebends, canonries and fees, Dietrich founded, to the west of the Piazza Navona, the Church and hospice of Santa Maria dell' Anima. Not far away, but nearer the river, was the English hospice of St. Thomas the Martyr and the Holy Trinity, and in its vicinity the various dwellings which the English house leased to our countrymen attached to the Curia or staying on business in Rome.

The *curiales* were a peculiar international community, a class of more cultured and sensitive fibre than the turbulent Romans or the sly and superstitious Neapolitans. They were fair game for plunder, for, like the modern bank messenger, they seemed to be marked down by the ill-disposed. When the Romans heard that Robert of Geneva had been elected by the Cardinals at Anagni, they set upon the innocent members of the Papal Curia in Rome, particularly upon the northerners (*ultramontani*), and knocked them about. Dietrich saw Roman matrons stirring up the inhabitants of the city against these

[1] MS. Bodl., Arch. Seld. B. 23, fo. 137v.

unfortunate men, and even spitting in their faces.[1] One of Dietrich's complaints about Urban is that when he took his cardinals and curials about with him, he did not see to it that they had good quarters. At Nocera (in 1383) where he occupied the castle (which, he grumbled, was hardly big enough for him), he left his cardinals and officials to find what lodgings they could in the seventy odd houses of the Borgo; the result was that as many as could made off to the sea coast and elsewhere. The reason for their flight, Dietrich told Urban, was that "they lacked protection." Dietrich calls them "*delicati et imbelles*" —not used to roughing it.[2] He tells how, when escaping from the intolerable conditions at Nocera, large numbers reached Castellamare, the governor of the place deprived them of such weapons as they had, and turned them all out, only to fall into the clutches of the local sailors, who were in league with some Catalan pirates on the Island of Capri. The sailors, who pretended not to understand Italian, took them out to sea, where they were at once overhauled by the pirates, robbed of their possessions, and landed penniless at Naples; while those who escaped to Naples by land were relieved of their goods by highwaymen *en route*.[3]

Dietrich himself (who did not escape from the attentions of these raiders) was of rather tougher quality. Perhaps the Germans as a whole had greater determination than the other *curiales*. When, upon Clement VII's election, many officials of the Curia deserted Urban, so that he was left alone "like a sparrow on the house-top," only the Germans stayed behind together with a few English, Bohemians and Hungarians.[4] But even the robust Dietrich admits that he could not control his emotions when at Nocera he saw Cardinal Leonardo de Sangro (suspected of complicity in the Cardinals' plot of 1384) stripped, bound with ropes, and swung three times to the ceiling by the papal torturers, while the pontiff's miserable nephew, Francesco, looked on and laughed (*immoderate ridebat*).[5] It was not a gentle age, and none so hard-hearted as the first Roman pontiff of the Schism, the Neapolitan "born in the Piazza

[1] *De Schismate*, ed. Erler, I. xiv., p. 29. [2] *Ibid.*, I. xxxvii., p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, I. xlvii., pp. 87-8. [4] *Ibid.*, I. xi., p. 27. [5] *Ibid.*, I. li., p. 92.

Nido, in a place which is commonly called Hell ".[1] *Fuit enim duri cordis.* But as Gregory XI's regent in the chancery, Bartholomew Prignano knew a trustworthy official when he saw one, and Dietrich was in his good books. " For many years," says Dietrich, " I was with him every night ; after he had gone up to his chamber to repose, he made me read to him in the Bible until he fell asleep." [2] In later years there were numerous occasions when Dietrich boldly faced Urban and remonstrated with him for his conduct towards the Cardinals and *curiales.* It was natural, for as a permanent chancery official Dietrich had access to the Pope and acted as referendary for petitions. In 1385 he represents himself as being handed by Urban a *rotulus* of petitions submitted to the Pope for signature. The *rotulus* came from unscrupulous people in Naples who wanted the red hat either for themselves or their friends. " As I read these petitions," says Dietrich, " I was astonished, and before each of them I made a sign, to show the scandalous behaviour of the petitioners, putting the Pope on his guard against their temerity and ignorance of Curial procedure." As a practised administrator Dietrich was shocked to see the Neapolitans petitioning to be made Cardinals, " just as poor clerks were wont to supplicate for expectatives " ; [3] but Urban " trusted too much in the sowers of tares " and promoted, as Gobelin tells us,[4] a number of Neapolitans to the Cardinalate, thus causing much amusement and gossip in Naples : for, says Dietrich, rather scandalously, " I heard a number of Neapolitan ladies, who knew the circumstances of the new cardinals, say to their friends : ' I hope I may see your husband a cardinal.' " The new Neapolitan cardinals, he says, " were good fellows " (*boni socii*), and each one of them was said " to have somebody else with him and other toadies ".[5]

Like Dietrich, we are digressing. His usefulness as an administrator is clearly seen in the *Liber Cancellariae Apostolicae,* a short but comprehensive handbook compiled by him for Chancery officials, giving the formulæ of the oaths taken by newcomers, the names of dioceses throughout the Church,

[1] *De Schismate,* ed. Erler, I. i., p. 8. [2] *Ibid.,* p. 9. [3] *Ibid.,* I. xliii., p. 80.
[4] *Cosmodromion,* vi., 84. [5] *De Schism.,* I. xliv., p. 81.

a large group of privileges granted to the religious, especially the Hospitallers, the constitutions on the subject of administration made in the Council of Lyons, John XXII's reforming ordinances for the Chancery, and other regulations for each class of officials, together with a table of salaries and a list of fees payable for apostolic letters. In his rubrics Dietrich shows himself an admirer of the Chancery in its earlier days. *Sequuntur mirabilia pennata*, he writes, *regimen et jura Cancellariae Apostolicae more antiquo.*[1] The *mirabilia* mainly consist of allowances for food and transport, the old and liberal regime before Urban took to moving about into uncomfortable places as well as to curtailing expenses. Later in the book he comes to certain thirteenth-century constitutions on the office of *scriptor*, again in "the old style."[2] The first of these, enjoining celibacy, instructs all writers that openly keep mistresses to put them away within eight days. In his *De Schismate* Dietrich praises Innocent VII because he made all writers of Apostolic letters dismiss their housekeepers (focarias).[3] We may well imagine that even the legitimately wedded Joan Swan would have had a difficult time, if she had joined her husband in Rome. The last of the clauses in this group is headed: "Even this constitution is kept to-day and deservedly." It gives warning that Papal writers will be suspended from their office for seven days if they write "other" letters before those of the Curia. In cases where no payment for Curial letters or for exemplifications (*rescribendae*) was offered, "the business of the Curia is to be preferred."[4] Dietrich tells us that he made his handbook from extracts faithfully copied "out of the book of the aforesaid chancery, dilapidated with age, with which I compared this present book, diligently hearkening to it in all things. And I arranged its chapters in a better manner, as far as I could, adding certain rubrics lacking in the original." After the date is a sigh: "Heu bona fortuna, cui non es omnibus una?"[5]

The *Stilus Palatii*, or "Method of the Papal Court," "conceived from the common practice of the said palace by T. de

[1] *Liber Cancellarie Apostolicae*, ed. Erler, p. 168-170.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[3] II. xli., p. 202.
[4] *Liber Cancellariae Apostolicae*, p. 171.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Nyem, least of all abbreviators," is an auditor's handbook, devised for the judges of the Rota. It answers all sorts of practical questions which a Papal judge might want to know. What commissions can the vice-chancellor issue, what belong to the Pope alone?[1] What action is the auditor to take when he receives a commission; when is he to cite the parties and how much notice ought he to give them?[2] What articles ought he to admit?[3] How are witnesses to be treated?[4] And much besides. A most practical work, which many may find more interesting than the longer textbook on the chancery, though in this case the author obtrudes himself hardly at all. These two books are, in the words of fitz Neal, "non subtilia, sed utilia." They have no graces of style nor the pungency that marks his other writings.

Indeed nobody would call Dietrich a stylist, though naturally he had the *cursus* at his fingers' ends. But, as an historian of his times, he has advantages. He calls the *De Schismate*, the work for which he is best known, a labyrinth, in which the reader will find here and there displeasing things that must not disturb him, "since they who write histories in their search for truth often recite what they would prefer to suppress." He has made, he says, many digressions: for these have a way of enticing the reader, just as a tasty and unusual dish delights those at a banquet. Prolixity, where it is noticed, must be attributed by his readers to his inexperience in this sort of work. Of the utility of reading history there can be no question. It has a moral function. Memorable deeds deserve commemoration. To rehearse them leads to emulation on the part of the listeners, who learn to choose the good and to avoid the evil[5] —*declinando vitia, virtutes sectando*, as Gobelin said. Dietrich has a shrewd eye for the significant, and, though he is never elegant, an enviable power of vivid and sometimes amusing description. Frequently he is carried away by his prejudices, and repeats scandal. Urban's nephew Butillo comes off very badly, but there seems no evidence for the gross immorality

[1] *Stylus Palatii*, in *Liber Canc. Apost.*, p. 217.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 218-220.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
[5] *De Schism.*," Praefatio Auctoris," pp. 4-5.

which Dietrich attributes to him at Naples.[1] The three Italian Cardinals who joined the Gallican party at Fondi are treated with great scorn, although their negotiations with the disgruntled ultramontanes were originally undertaken at Urban's express bidding, and despite the fact that they early arrived at the Conciliar solution which Dietrich was later to adopt. He persists in calling them Peter, James and John, whereas the name of the third was Simon de Brossanis. Robert of Geneva he cordially dislikes, and attributes his election partly to his noble relatives and kinsmen.[2] He is large, rather corpulent, fond of his food.[3] Conversely, Dietrich is too lenient to the group that plotted against Urban in January, 1380. But as an eyewitness he is admirable. There are unforgettable pictures. Urban taking no notice of the cup proffered him by Otto of Tarentum, husband of Johanna of Naples, to the dismay of all present:[4] Urban with his face "blazing like a lamp," and his voice raucous with passion against the disloyal Cardinals:[5] Urban, as he paced the garden of the Castello di Parco, reading aloud from his breviary to drown the expected cries of the aged Cardinal of Venice who was being tortured in the cellar below: but the Cardinal, as often as the ropes pulled him up to the ceiling, only repeated the words: "Christus pro nobis passus est."[6] There are the crowds of Romans gathering excitedly on the steps of St. Peter's at Urban's election, the relations and supporters of possible candidates for the Papacy riding in expectation of success through the streets of Rome, the flight of the Cardinals after they had done the deed and elected Urban; numerous intimate touches written from the street rather than from the study. And the digressions are morsels both rich and tasty. The first of these comes in the form of a description of the delectable country round Nocera, a welcome relief after the story of Urban's cruelty to his officials and his strained relations with Charles of Durazzo. Dietrich speaks of the great chestnut trees that grow larger fruit than he has ever seen, and of the nut-groves on the road to Salerno, that might provide food for the whole district: "but now pigs are fed thereon, whose flesh makes the finest bacon, firm and

[1] *De Schism.*, I. xxxiii., p. 63. [2] *Ibid.*, I. x., p. 25. [3] *Ibid.*, II. i., p. 124.
[4] *Ibid.*, I. vii., p. 19. [5] *Ibid.*, I. xlv., p. 85. [6] *Ibid.*, I. lii., p. 94.

delicious, and I have never seen larger and fatter capons and so cheap as are found there on that plain. And therefore the *curiales*, as long as they were safe, preferred to remain there than in any other part of the kingdom of Sicily." He then describes the wonderful wine that comes from the slopes of Monte Chiunzo and is shipped to various foreign countries: a good vintage, if kept for five or six years, grows stronger and better: in fact, the longer you keep it, the better it is.

> Whence it once happened that I was admitted to the cellar of the Archbishop of Naples at the Castle of Torre by a certain German, then keeper of the castle, along with a proctor, a responsible man (*satis discreto*) in the Roman Curia, and some others, the captain wished us to taste the wine stored for many years in the cellar, and after we had tried the wine from several vessels, taking a little from each, the proctor suddenly became so inebriated that he could neither speak nor stand upright, but we carried him speechless and incapable to his lodging, where placed he slept continuously till the next day. But on waking up, when we asked him what had happened, he had no notion at all. At which I marvelled greatly. But whether this arose from weakness of brain or because he had drunk too greedily, I know not. The captain, seeing the said proctor so drunk in the cellar, told me with a smile that I should not be surprised that it had so chanced with my friend. He had seen the same thing happen to many that drank in the cellar.[1]

Following the narrative of the civil discord in Perugia, where, in 1393, Dietrich witnessed a horrible massacre of one faction by the other, there is an account of a visit paid by Boniface IX to the baths at Pozzuoli, when he was ill with stone. With some friends Dietrich made an expedition to the warm springs in the volcanic rocks of Monte Solferata, and entered the caves of pumice which the bathers frequented, stripped naked because of the heat and gaseous steam. It was a famous cure for gouty maladies. The place was dangerous when the south wind blew and forced the vapours back into the holes whence they arose. "After I had entered the said mountain," says Dietrich, "while I crept about the place exploring, for I was still fit and active (*dum iuvenis essem*), I broke out into a powerful and excessive perspiration, promising God that if he would permit me this time to return safe from this mountain, I never would

[1] *De Schism.*, I. xxxviii., pp. 71-73.

go back again." He took with him to the bath "called St. Margaret's" a friend with a swollen and painful hand, which, when the vapours came up, was immediately cured, though the redness left by the inflammation remained. He describes Monte Gauro, four miles from Baiae, "which many deluded Germans call in their tongue *Der Gral*, saying, as the natives affirm, that in it are many men alive and living till the day of judgment, who are given up to revelling and sensuous delights, and perpetually ensnared in devilish pastimes. Near which, in a certain house, is a bath without water: people merely sit upon a large round stone, and in a short while begin to sweat, and receive much pleasure and relief therefrom, as I myself proved. Near which is a pool in which harmless snakes appear in great quantities. And in this region crops ripen and are gathered in May, and about the middle of April fresh fruits are found in great abundance, to wit beans and cherries: and small and sweet pears, luscious to taste, about the middle of April each year. . . . You will always see grapes on the vines trained upon the fruit trees and elms in the winter right up to Christmas, great bunches of them, and many gardens green with trees and grass all the year long.[1] The Neapolitan country he associates particularly with Virgil's tomb, and he mentions the wonders wrought there by that seer. He had been studying Gervase of Tilbury.[2]

To read the *De Schismate* is to understand why, as the long duel of the Schism worked itself out and impatience grew generally, Dietrich made reform as well as union his aim. One might think that the chancery official would desire unity rather than internal change; or that at least he would not believe in change coming through the medium of so untried a body as the council. But with Dietrich it was not so. Yet the new conviction must have grown very gradually, for he was a loyal spirit. He is fully alive indeed to Urban's faults: he does not

[1] *De Schism.*, II. xix., xx., pp. 153-157.

[2] Cf. *Gervasii Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 14 *et sqq.* Dietrich cites him again both in the same work and in the *De Modis*, to demonstrate the duty of the Emperor to summon the General Council.

spare the Pope for his tactlessness and doctrinaire obstinacy; he shows how utterly mistaken was Urban's visit to the Regnum in 1383-1385, how unfortunate his dealings with the unscrupulous Charles of Durazzo, how grievous and expensive his wars; yet, as he says, "Urban never committed simony, nor in any way burdened those whom he promoted to cathedral churches and monasteries that were vacant; and the benefices that fell vacant within or without his court he conferred liberally, and tenaciously remembered upon whom he had conferred a vacant benefice in his reservation, since he was unwilling to collate any competitor to it. He consented to no sharp financial practices, but duly contented himself with the ancient rights of the apostolic camera, however moderate, and he was of such high heart that he never lamented his poverty, and on his death he left more money in the camera than he found there on his election, so that his obsequies were more decently carried out than those of Boniface IX and Innocent VII."[1] But with Boniface IX everything was different, and money the sole aim. No more devastating picture of financial corruption in the Middle Ages has been painted than in the early chapters of Dietrich's second book. It is more convincing than the *Squalores Curiae Romanae* of Matthew of Cracow. Boniface IX, a large, fine-looking man, was a curious mixture of mental confusion and crafty unscrupulousness. He did not really understand the petitions and graces that he signed;[2] he would give a benefice to the highest bidder, and when a still higher one came along, he found means of revoking the earlier grant, while the same benefice was often sold to a number of competitors. He said that those who offered little intended to deceive him. New expectatives with an antedating clause were devised, then another and much more expensive kind, with a special clause antedating even those. He made new ordinances suppressing the traffic, and immediately got round them by exemptions sold at a high

[1] *De Schism.*, I. lxix., pp. 122-123.

[2] For examples of this, cf. his signatures to the *rotulus* put forward on behalf of William of Wykeham by the proctor John Fraunceys, printed by H. Chitty and E. F. Jacob, "Some Winchester College Muniments," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1934, together with the authorities cited there.

price. "These things were done commonly and openly," says Dietrich with bitterness, "All fear of God and shame of men set aside; and so frequently, that the *curiales* for the most part affirmed that such things were legitimate, since in such matters the Pope, as he said, could not sin." [1] His last iniquity was to refuse to sign any petition, until he had received from intermediaries a gold florin for each signature; and he made everyone, however poor he was, pay him as much as was paid to the abbreviator for the minute.[2] In December, 1402, he revoked all his expectatives and other graces "as if he had erred in all of them," and yet issued (upon payment) others for a term of years.[3] We are back once more with the evil which Gregory VII fought, for which Dante consigned Boniface VIII to the lowest hell, the evil in comparison with which the sins of the flesh are but slight; and as the book proceeds, its temperature subtly rises; yet there is no invective, only simple statements, many of which modern writers on Papal administration like von Hofman have shown to be reliable. We should, however, abstain from taking Dietrich, who wrote at an exceptional time and under exceptional circumstances, as a witness to the "abuses" in the Curial system as a whole.

Throughout the later part of the book Dietrich shows how powerless in effect were Boniface and his successor Innocent VII against the external dangers like Ladislas of Naples. The Roman See, threatened by enemies and internal feuds, was breaking up. Yet it is not till Gregory XII is reached that the note of despair is sounded; it is clearly heard in the last chapters of the second book,[4] which tell us that Dietrich in his mortification had collected the damaging materials for the meeting of those last days in the *Nemus Unionis* or *Forest of Union*, the volume which was finished on 30th July, 1408. In the third book of the *De Schismate* he outlines the futile negotiations of the Commissioner for union who ran away from his commission. He no longer calls him by his Papal name. Errorius it has become, since he has deceived the world,[5] and the biting satire never spares him. As far as the end of Innocent VII's

[1] *De Schism.*, II. viii., ix., pp. 132-133. [2] *Ibid.*, II. xi., p. 136.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, II. xlii., pp. 202-204. [5] *Ibid.*, III. vi., p. 216.

pontificate the *De Schismate* is a serious historical work: but in the third book it changes its character and grows curiously stylized. It is no longer steady writing, with entertaining digressions; a sort of macabre *Totentanz*, the grim posturing of skeletons, is now depicted, with quotations from the documents and appropriate moralizing. Very characteristic is Dietrich's view of the Emperor as the right resort in such a struggle.[1] We have returned to Dante with his appeal to the prince whose power depends immediately upon God. Dietrich cites the well-known passage from the *Decretum* in which Theodoric is represented as convoking a council to deal with the charges brought against Pope Symmachus[2]—the very same passage that was cited in the council at Paris which determined on the withdrawal of obedience in 1398. It is very natural that Dietrich, conveniently forgetting the Emperor's Arianism, should go back to his great namesake, the legendary lord of Bern. This leads to a historical demonstration of the right of the Emperor in such cases, and Dietrich makes much play with the treatment of John XII by the Emperor Otto I. This, as can be seen elsewhere, was a favourite argument. We also hear a more specifically Conciliar note in his application to the Pope of what the earlier political thinkers wrote about the *rex iniustus*. If the Pope is *tyrannus potius quam dei minister*, and despised by all because of his demerits, he is removable from his sacred government, "since a bad priest is not [rightly] called a priest and a bad bishop is not a bishop." The first of these propositions is generally admitted by the early Conciliars, and forms a common argument in their treatises.[3] The second comes dangerously near the opinion of Wyclif, that *papa praescitus et malus homo* has no power over Christ's faithful.[4]

Some years ago Dietrich's *Life and deeds of John XXIII* was the only further work of a major kind that could by general consent be attributed to him. But the studies of Dr. Finke and

[1] *De Schism.*, III. vi., p. 216.

[2] Decret. Prim. Pars. dist. xvii., c. vi. (ed. Friedberg, i. 51).

[3] See the references in Erler's n. 2 to *De Schism.*, III. xi., pp. 224-225.

[4] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, I. 343; this was admitted to be heresy by Hereford and Repingdon at the Blackfriars, London, on 20th June, 1382: *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 319.

of his pupil Dr. Heimpel have revealed a Conciliar sequel to the political and historical tracts, and given a new unity and logic to Dietrich's life. After much learned discussion lasting for many years, the *curialis* has now been conclusively proved to be the author of the important dialogue *De Modis uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam in Concilio Universali* published in August, 1410.[1] Furthermore this is now revealed as the basis of the *Capitula agendorum in Concilio Generali Constanciensi* discovered some years back by Dr. Finke in a Vienna MSS. and attributed by him to Dietrich. The *Capitula agendorum* is in fact an amended version of the *De Modis*, written during the Council of Constance, with necessary alterations and corrections. The first of these treatises, the *De Modis*, printed by von der Hardt, was ascribed by him, on the strength of a faulty attribution in the Munich manuscript, to Gerson. Schwab in his *Johannes Gerson* effectively disposed of this, but assigned the treatise to the Spaniard Andreas of Escobar ; and it has been left to Dr. Heimpel, after a careful weighing of the internal evidence and on the strength of a Stuttgart MS. discovered by Dr. Bartos of Prague, to show that Dietrich is its author.[2] As the result of modern criticism, Dietrich stands out as the author of the *De Modis*, the treatise on the summoning of General Council, written 1413-1414 (also printed by Dr. Heimpel), of the *Avisamenta edita in Concilio Generali* (after August, 1414), formerly also attributed to Gerson, but suspected by Lenz to be Dietrich's work, and of a quantity of other shorter Conciliar works printed by Dr. Finke in his great edition of the *Acta* of Constance. It is no exaggeration therefore to call Dietrich one of the leading publicists of his age.

He is not a theologian, but a lawyer and practical administrator, with a plan of unity and reform argued upon a basis of history and experience. In reading him, one feels oneself in contact with a passionate nature and a realistic mind rather than with the intellectualism and subtler abstractions of Conciliar

[1] This was suggested by Dr. Max Lenz in his *Drei Tractate aus dem Schriftencyclus des Constanzer Conzils*, 1876.

[2] *Dietrich von Niem*, pp. 79-124, pages of fundamental importance for the authorship of the various treatises written 1410-1415.

theory. In the *De Modis* Dietrich's first desire is the health and effective working of the spiritual community, which, like the State, has a common good: for the *conservacio et salvacio boni communis*. It is for this that law exists. When in an emergency the care for the common interest and the preservation and retention of "any private person" are brought into comparison, the public welfare must be put first.[1] Now the point to be emphasized is that this statement is made in the first part of the dialogue, where the *unio capitis* is treated. *Iam primo de unione capitis volo presupponere, et potestatem usurpatam diu ab eodem capite limitare.* The conjunction is striking. You cannot unite without going back to the original law of the Church and curtailing Papal accretions to that sound old body of enactment. The implication is that it is no use deposing the *contendentes de papatu*, unless you restore or recreate the constitution. But this solicitude for the common good, to preserve which law exists, is itself implied in the liberal and discriminating analysis of sovereignty in the Church that Dietrich had already propounded a little earlier in the treatise. Here he draws a notable distinction between the Catholic, universal Church, including "Greeks, Latins, and barbarians that believe in Christ, men and women, bond and free,"[2] and the particular and private Church, composed of the Pope, the Cardinals and the prelates. These two, he says, "differ as genus and species, since every apostolic Church is catholic, and not the other way round, and therefore the Apostle said in his letters: 'The Church that is in Babylon saluteth you.'" "*Which* Church therefore," the older speaker in the Dialogue asks, "must one labour to unify and restore?" "We must work," comes the reply, "above all else for the salvation and restoration of that *Universal* Church and of the faithful that err and the limbs that go astray because of the *second* Church, since apart from the Universal Church there is no salvation.[3] Here indeed are echoes of the arguments which, as Dr. Haller has shown, were used at the French national synods of 1398 and 1406, when the withdrawal of obedience

[1] Dietrich von Niem, *Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche* 1410 (*De Modis*), ed. Heimpel, p. 15.

[2] *De Modis*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

was under discussion. That the Church was the *coniunctio omnium existentium in caritate* was the thesis of Pierre Plaoul, while his contemporary Pierre Leroy had maintained that the Pope is simply the functionary of the Church.[1] Dietrich's distinction, sharper than theirs, between the *congregatio fidelium* and the Roman species of it is a development of views that owe their inception to William of Occam.[2] It may however have been borrowed from a nearer source than the English thinker : a short while ago Dr. Richard Scholz drew attention to an anonymous treatise completed on the 16th November, 1406, the work, he argues, of an ecclesiastic of French sympathies, possibly the Dominican Bishop of Siena, Michael Pauli de Pelagallo.[3] This treatise, now preserved in a Vatican codex, is a plea for the Council, based upon the practice of the primitive Church. The writer shows a striking sympathy with the Greeks, *qui christianitatis nomen et omen radicarunt in nobis.* After the Hebrews, they were helped to found the Latin Church, a subordinate member (*Latinam inferiorem*), and are an essential part of the Universal Church from which the author distinguishes the hierarchy. To him the Catholic Church begins with Christ's Passion in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem was originally the most honoured of the patriarchates. Dietrich elaborates this theme of the comprehensive Church in which " the Greeks and barbarians believing in Christ " are included. There seems little chance of knowing whether he was acquainted with the anonymous treatise, though he must have met and known its author ; it is in the same dialogue form, but with the teacher rather than the pupil (as in the *De Modis*) giving the information. Dietrich has the same egalitarian view of the power of the Apostles ; but the concentration on the Greek Church and its problems finds no echo in the German writer.

I have referred to Dietrich's debt to Occam, which he shares

[1] J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, pp. 347-348.

[2] Occam, *Dialogus*, V. xxiv., in Goldast, *Monarchia II.*, 494. The crucial words are : " et ideo quamuis Romana ecclesia post Papam fit membrum principale ecclesiae, sine ipsa tamen potest ecclesia esse." Cf. Haller, *op. cit.*, p. 507, and Andreas Posch, *De Concordantia Catholica des Nicolaus von Cusa*, p. 89.

[3] " Eine Geschichte und Kritik der Kirchenverfassung vom Jahre 1406," *Papsttum und Kaisertum im Mittelaltter* (Kehrfestschrift), p. 597, *et sqq.*

with the early Conciliar theorists; but there is more than Occam in Dietrich's view of sovereignty; there is Marsilius of Padua as well, whom in one place he calls *magnus theologus*;[1] and, as Dr. Haller has pointed out, the central point in Marsilius' thought, the notion that the Church received from Christ no dominion over worldly things but a spiritual power only, is represented in the *De Modis* partly in the very words of Marsilius.[2] Dietrich had paid special attention to the beginning of Dictio II of the *Defensor Pacis*, especially the passages in which Marsilius defines *ecclesia*, *spiritualis*, and other such terms. He quotes from Marsilius the statement that Christ "gave no principate or office of secular judge to Peter or any other Apostle."[3] Like Marsilius, too, he strongly emphasises the human limitations of the ecclesiastic. Office does not sanctify the holder or render immune from responsibility. If the Pope is called *sanctus* it is not because of his dignity or authority, but because of the grace and charity of God. "We see with our own eyes that the actions of many prelates and priests to-day, at least a majority of them, are not spiritual, but temporal and carnal."[4] The division in the Church is proof of this. Like Marsilius he would restrain clerical usurpations, and would go back upon the Sext and the Clementines, and much indeed in the Decretals of Gregory IX that usurped the power of the ordinaries and made for the suppression of the imperial, that is, the secular power.[5] This should not be taken to imply that Dietrich would go all the way with the Paduan and limit the priesthood to the performance of divine office and the hearing of confessions; but he was as conscious as Marsilius of the danger of extending the

[1] *De Modis*, p. 61.

[2] *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, p. 508. Dr. Haller does not, however, admit that Dietrich is the author of the *De Modis*.

[3] *De Modis*, p. 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 19: "Revertor ergo ad propositum et dico, quod tantam fraudem in administracione huius papatus fecerunt aliqui antiqui, qui cum multis viris peritis, imo maliciis imbutis, Deum non habentes pre oculis, multa iura sibi usurparunt, et meliorem partem sibi attribuerunt, et de re publica non curarunt. Et quis fecit illos libros, Sextum et Clementinas, arroganciam, superbiam, iuris ordinariorum locorum usurpacionem, imperatorum Romanorum iniuriosam detractionem et eorum aliorumque potestatis periculosissimam suppressionem et alia multa in spiritualis et secularis rei publice lesionem. . . .?"

spiritual power beyond the constitutional limits observed before the Papal jurists got to work and advanced their master's pretensions. It is the new decretalism, the *novellae constitutiones*, that he regards with suspicion: perhaps with the kind of suspicion that led the older and more conservative *curiales* to dislike the new papal secretaries of the fifteenth century. In this attitude he is no innovator. Bishop Stephen of Tournai said the same thing about the new civilian spirit in legislation at the end of the twelfth century: *antiquiores sacri canones abiciuntur, respuuntur, expuuntur.* The complaint is found in several of his contemporaries.[1]

It is the spectacle of private interest, which he had seen operating since the time of Boniface IX, that shocked Dietrich. The fear of this led him to find in the universal Church, lay as well as clerical, the censor and organ of correction and reform. All the possible objections to such control, exercised through the General Council, he meets;[2] and to history he appeals for support in the characteristic thesis which we encounter at the end of the *De Schismate*: the historic duty and privilege of the Emperor to summon and preside over the representative body that is to carry out the task of unity and reform. In the present passage he invokes the examples of Henry II and Henry III,[3] while towards the end of his book he emphasizes the part taken by German Emperors in heading the Crusade to the Holy Places.[4] In treating of the Emperor, he shows himself in strong agreement with the imperialist argument in favour of the independence of the Empire from the Papacy, even in Italy, where the imperium had been invaded and broken up, so that petty tyrannies had become established in the cities.[5] It is impossible to read the *De Modis* without seeing in it the practical application of the morals drawn and lessons learned in the *De Schismate*. The two works hang together, explain one another.

[1] Thus, at the end of the twelfth century, the same complaints were made of decretal law that two or three generations earlier had been made of the Novels, Code and Digest: G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-57.

[3] *De Modis*, pp. 71-72. Cf. p. 90.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

It should not be necessary here to examine the question of Dietrich's originality. The arguments in the *De Modis* are certainly expressed with a rare force of personal conviction; but he who predicates originality of any single passage of Conciliar theory is a bold man. Often indeed in medieval thought what constitutes originality is not the nature of the thesis sustained so much as the quality and character of the person who sustains it and the occasion upon which he does so. Of Dietrich two things may be affirmed. Nobody before him had stated the case for the Council so completely from the legal and administrative point of view; and no one of his period burned with a fiercer desire for that justice, apart from which every kingdom, the Papal included, is nothing but a great robbery.

HYMNUS IN HONOREM SANCTI ANSELMI.[1]

Te jucundam pietatis
Vocem, Christianitatis
  Verum propugnaculum,
Nos, Anselme, celebramus,
Dum studentes collaudamus
  Famosum theologum.

Abbas archipraesul factus,
Nugis curiae intactus,
  Venit e Normannia:
Rex habere noluisset,
Nisi fatum instetisset,
  Hunc in Cantuaria.

Contra minas stetit regis,
Coelicae protector legis,
  Spirans patientiam;
Quae sunt Dei, Deo dabat,
Neque Caesari negabat
  Justam reverentiam.

Velut ovis tauro, junctus
Saevienti, sic compunctus
  Angliae miseria,
Petit almum Petri thronum
Unde aequitas et bonum
  Manant in ecclesia.

Rectus sed litigiosus,
Clero regni non exosus,
  Rex Henricus revocat.
Redit pastor, grex laetatur,
Tamen pax desideratur,
  Rex antiqua advocat.

Salvum tandem jus utrique;
Pax firmata stat ubique,
  Firma fit concordia.
Unitas quod fuit scissum
Sanat; saepe compromissum
  Diligit justitia.

Te tenacem veneremur,
Te sagacem imitemur,
  Praesul, decus Angliae.
Da serenitatem mentis
Jugiter Deum colentis
  Huic nostrae militiae.

E. F. J.

[1] Nuperrime pro Aula S. Anselmi inter Mancunienses scriptus.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MSS. IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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I.

Concerning the Abisha Scroll.

IN the John Rylands library there is an important collection of Samaritan manuscripts acquired from the Earl of Crawford. They are twenty-seven in number, and are fully representative of the limited classes of literature of that strange community.[1] Many of them belonged originally to the Samaritan family Danafī which, although not the priestly family, produced both writers and copyists of note. Several of the manuscripts in the collection are in the handwriting of members of this family. The surplus leaves of many have additions in Arabic relating to events in the lives of the Samaritans and to happenings in Nāblūs[2] from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of them of considerable interest. To some of these I shall return again, but in this article I wish to notice three only which refer to the famous old Pentateuch scroll of the Samaritans known as the Abisha[3] Scroll. While the MSS. were retained in the possession of the Earl of Crawford a short catalogue of them was prepared by Dr. A. Löwy about the year 1870. In an address to the newly-formed Society of Biblical Archæology[4] in the year 1879 he drew their

[1] A descriptive catalogue is now in course of preparation.

[2] The Arabicized form of *Νεάπολις*, the name given to Shechem after the changes made there by Herod, the son of Antipater, or by Vespasian.

[3] The 'Abīshū' given in 1 Chron. 6. 4, 5 [Eng.] or 5. 30, 31 [Heb.], the great-grandson of Aaron.

[4] *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1879, p. 13.

attention to the first of the Additions with which we propose to deal, indicated its contents, and mentioned that there was another amongst the additions on the manuscripts which dealt with the same theme. There are in fact three altogether, although one is very fragmentary.

The Samaritans claim that they have in their possession a scroll of the Pentateuch (all the Scriptures they recognize) which was written by Abishua, the great grandson of Aaron, thirteen years after the Children of Israel entered into possession of the land of Canaan, and they point proudly to the chronogram, called by them a *tashqīl*, to that effect embedded in the manuscript. The device of the *tashqīl* appears to be confined to Samaritan manuscripts. It may be described in the words of Dr. Gaster. "The letters which form the names and dates are part and parcel of the text itself, which is divided into two columns, a small empty space being left between. Into that empty space such letters are written that if they are read in a consecutive column from top to bottom they form the names and dates. The letters are taken out of the words of the text; assuming a word consists of five letters, then two letters may be written at the end of the line of one column, the last two letters may begin the opposite line, and the middle letter could be placed in the intervening space. . . . This system assures permanency to the date and to the whole inscription; it cannot be altered, since no substitution is possible." [1]

The Samaritan claim for the age of their Scroll is, on the face of it, preposterous. That they possess a unique manuscript of the Pentateuch in Hebrew,[2] dating back in all probability to the pre-Christian period, is now being admitted by those competent to judge. When we consider that the oldest dated manuscript of the Old Testament in Hebrew character is that in Leningrad, with date A.D. 916, we realise the antiquarian value, if nothing more, of this amazing relic. This venerable manuscript has been for so many centuries a palladium of the Samaritan faith that we expect to find some reference to it in early notices of the Samaritans. Unfortunately, our expectations are not realised. This is

[1] M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (Schweich Lectures, 1923), 1925, p. 109.

[2] In Samaritan script, of course.

probably in part due to the history of the Samaritans themselves which has ever been one of storm and tragedy. The Samaritan Pentateuch was known and criticized by the Church Fathers,[1] and whilst amongst them it was referred to vaguely as the παλαιότατον Ἑβραϊκὸν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Σαμαρειταῖς,[2] the reference is almost certainly to the script and does not imply a recognition of the Samaritan claim to the possession of the oldest manuscript. The Arabic geographers, too, are silent on the matter. Writers like Istakhrī (951), Idrīsī (1154), 'Alī of Herat (1173), Yāqūt (1225), Dimashqī (1300) and Abu 'l-Fidā (1325),[3] who speak of Nāblūs and record the peculiarities and particularities of the Samaritans, have no word to say of the ancient Scroll. Nor does the wandering Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the town in the year 1163. He makes mention of Samaritan claims and pretensions in other directions, but not to the possession of an ancient manuscript.[4]

In the fourteenth century it suddenly emerges into the full light of history. At the instigation of Phinehas, son of Joseph, the high priest at the time, a Samaritan, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, wrote in the year 1352 a chronicle of the Samaritans in Arabic.[5] In this he gives an account of the recovery of the Abisha Scroll, after it had been lost to view for generations seemingly. As this passage has not been quoted in full before and is of significance in the history of the Scroll, I will give it here. The text is that given by Vilmar (pp. 35 f.).

في سنة ثلاثة عشر لملكة بني اسرائل ارض كنعان وفي السنة المذكورة
كتب السيد ابيشع بن فينحس الكتاب الشريف الموجود الآن في نابلس

[1] E.g. Origen, Jerome, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Cyril of Alexandria.

[2] In contradistinction to the Ἑβραϊκον τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, *vide Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*, London, 1874, pp. 404 f.

[3] *Vide* G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, pp. 511 f.

[4] *Vide Reisetagbuch des R. Benjamin von Tudela*, ed. D. A. Martinet, Berlin, 1918, pp. 11 f.

[5] The Arabic text was edited from four MSS. by E. Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, Gotha, 1865, with the promise of a Latin translation, which, however, never appeared. R. Payne-Smith, *The Samaritan Chronicle of Abu 'l-Fatḥ*, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, ii, 1865, p. 303, commenced a translation, but abandoned it on learning that Vilmar had published the whole text.

المحروسة في حفظ سيدنا الامام الكبير فينحس اعاد الله من بركاته على امته وفسح في مدة حيوته الذي اظهره الله عز وجل على يده بعد خفيته واستتاره عمّن تقدمه في الامامة الكبرى وهذه بشارة ان شاء الله بظهور الرضوان في ايامه وايام اولاده القائمين في خدمة هذا الكتاب الذي هو سلوة النفوس وقوة القلوب وثقتها بالحق المنقول بايدي طائفة السامرة كثرهم الله تعالى وفي هذه السنة جدد كشفه في يوم سبت عيد المظلة وكانت ساعة عظيمة وشاهدت الجماعة الدين حضروا التشقيل الذي فيه ومبدأه من عند

[1] והיה . כי . יביאך الدى بعد שמע . ישראל והו אני . אבישע . בן . פינחם . בן . אלעזר בן . אהרן . הכהן . להם . רצון . יהוה . וכבודו : כתבתי . ספר . הקדוש . בפתח . אהל . מועד . בהרנריזים . בשנת . שלשה . עשר . למלכת . בני . ישראל . ארץ . כנען . לנבולותיה . סביב : [2] אודי . את . יהוה . وهذا الكتاب الشريف يقوم مقام الرضوان ومن اخلص في الطلب بحضرته او كان غائبا عنه واستشفع به من قلبه ونفسه قبل وقضيت حاجته فنسأل الله ان ينفعنا بشرفه وبركته خدامه وشرف نسبهم . . .

TRANSLATION.

In the thirteenth year of the possession of the land of Canaan by the Children of Israel and in the self-same year the Master, Abisha, son of Phinehas, wrote the illustrious book now to be found in Nablus in the keeping of our Master, the high priest Phinehas, may God repeat his blessings upon his people, and grant him long to live, which God, Mighty and High, revealed through him after keeping it hid and secret from those who preceded him in the office of high priest. And this is the evangel, if God so will, of the manifestation of the *Ridhwān* [3] in his days and the days of his children who will arise (after him) in the service of this Book, which is the consolation of souls, and

[1] The Hebrew letters are transcriptions of the Samaritan.

[2] So the Paris codex used by Vilmar. The Bodleian codex has אודה, clearly the correct reading. The Berlin codices have אודיע ("I make known"). This last rendering is the one adopted by G. Rosen in *Zeitsch. d. Deuts. Morg. Gesellschaft*, XVIII, p. 584; and also by A. J. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 287. It can hardly be correct.

[3] The *Ridhwān* is the Arabic rendering of the Hebrew רצון. The *Ridhwān* was the time of concord between God and man, in reference especially to the Patriarchal age.

the strength of hearts and their faith in the truth transmitted by the hands of the Samaritan community, may God, Most High, multiply them. And in this year its exhibition was renewed (جدد) on the Sabbath of the Feast of Tabernacles. It was a great occasion, and all who were present witnessed the *tashqīl* which it contains. It begins from (the section) " And it shall be when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee " [1] . . . which succeeds (the section) " Hear, O Israel " [2] and is as follows: " I, Abisha, son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, the Priest, on them be the favour of the Lord and his glory, wrote the holy book in the door of the Tent of Meeting on Mount Gerizim in the thirteenth year of the dominion of the children of Israel over the land of Canaan to its borders round about. I praise the Lord." And this illustrious book takes the place of the *Ridhwān*, and whoever seeks something in petition in its presence, or when separated from it invites its intercession in heart and soul, will be received, and his need will be met. We ask God that his ministers and their honoured relatives may benefit us with its honour and blessing.

Abu 'l-Fatḥ is the first to give in full the *tashqīl*. His report of the recovery of the manuscript has raised doubts in some minds as to the genuineness of the Scroll. They are disposed to think that it, like the Book of the Law in the time of Isaiah, was conveniently discovered at this time, and that this in consequence is its actual date.[3] Against this view, however, is the fact of the Scroll itself and the assessment of age by those who have been privileged to examine it. It is true that the reputation of the Samaritans for trustworthiness and veracity has never been high.[4]

[1] Deut. 6. 10.

[2] Deut. 6. 4. The Sam. Pentateuch is divided into short sections called by the Samaritans קצין [*Qiṣṣin*]. They are shorter than the Hebrew *Parashas*.

[3] So A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, Oxford, 1909, II, p. xxvii; also in *En. Biblica*, and *En. Brit.* s.v.

[4] " This is the principle: they (the Samaritans) are not to be believed in any matter in which they are open to suspicion "—*Masseḳeth Kuthim*, § 16. " They may answer ' Amen ' after an Israelite who says a Benediction, but not after a Samaritan until they have heard the whole Benediction "—*Berakhōth*, 8. 8. These of course are Jewish opinions, and hence tainted, but the experience of Europeans who have had dealings with them confirms this estimate.

Yet the time and occasion may well have combined to bring it from its concealment back into the light. Abu 'l-Fatḥ had been commissioned to prepare a chronicle. There would be a call for manuscripts of all sorts and the Abisha Scroll may well have appeared amongst them. The relatively peaceful conditions existing made its reappearance possible.

The text we have quoted suggests that the old Scroll had been for a very long time in concealment, but that there had persisted a tradition regarding it. We are told that its exposure to the worshippers was " renewed ". There had been good cause for concealment in the long centuries which preceded. The Samaritans had a tradition of which mention is made in their Arabic Book of Joshua,[1] that they lost most of their sacred books during the reign of Hadrian (†138), execrated by them as the first pagan ruler to persecute the Samaritan religion. From then on they suffered periods of persecution which tinged their traditions with bitterness. Commodus, fifty years after Hadrian, forbade the reading of the Law, closed the schools, and killed the scholars, so that the knowledge of the Law almost perished. Alexander Severus (†235) was depicted as worse than Commodus. Under him synagogues and schools were destroyed and learning once more trampled under foot. Persecution and suppression were carried to extreme lengths under Zeno (†491), Anastasius (†518) and Justinian (†565). It would appear that during the greater part of the period of the Christian Empire the Samaritans with their religious prejudices, strange customs, distinctive appearance and political insignificance were at the mercy, or rather lack of mercy, of imperial legislation. It is, perhaps, not surprising that, goaded to retaliation by repressive edicts, with no support from the outside world, with not even a voice of sympathy save what came to them from their own scattered and impotent colonies, they suffered heavily and their numbers were rapidly diminished. Yet they managed to preserve some of their writings. There is a lively tradition of a great hero Baba Rabba, who in the middle of the fourth century reconstituted the priestly line and brought forth from concealment as many as

[1] *Vide* T. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum—Liber Josuae*, Leyden, 1848, xlvii end ; also A. J. Montgomery, *l.c.*, p. 102.

he could muster of their holy books.[1] Was the old Scroll among them?

The rule of the Moslems brought to the sorely harassed Samaritans in Nablus more peace and consideration than had been granted by their Christian rulers. Then the waves of the Crusades swept over them. Nablus was harried and plundered by Crusaders and Saracens.[2] When the Crusades passed, the Western world was occupied with other things, and the Samaritans passed into oblivion so far as it was concerned.

Then came the age of the revival of Hebrew studies and the period of famous Hebraists prior to the seventeenth century, the age of the great polyglot Bibles. The French scholar, J. C. Scaliger (†1558) was the first to call attention to the importance of obtaining a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, known only from Patristic references, if indeed such existed. His more famous son Joseph (†1609) endeavoured to secure a manuscript by entering into communication with the Samaritans themselves. Thus was initiated a correspondence between the Samaritans and European scholars which has been maintained fitfully down to modern times.[3] The letters sent by the Samaritans in answer to their European questioners follow much the same lines, for the same questions were invariably asked of them. In them they

[1] *Vide* Abu 'l-Fath, pp. 129 f.

[2] Godfrey of Bouillon took Nablus in 1100. It was destroyed by Moslems (1113), plundered by them in 1137 and by Saladin's troops in 1184. In 1242 it was plundered by Crusaders.

[3] Following the letters to Scaliger from Samaritans in Cairo and Gaza in 1592 and 1598, Bishop R. Huntington of Rapho in Ireland, by unwittingly causing them to believe that there were Samaritans in England, drew from them between 1671 and 1678 several letters addressed to their "brethren in England," giving a summary of their religious faith and practice. The correspondence was taken up by the Ethiopic scholar Job Ludolf from Amsterdam, who received several letters between 1685 and 1689. The Samaritans continued to send appealing letters to their supposed brethren in France and Germany as well as to those in England till the middle of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the correspondence was resumed by the French savants, H. Grégoire, Bishop of Blois, and the renowned Arabist Sylvestre de Sacy in the form of question and answer. It was carried on later by Kautsch in Germany, and in recent years by Cowley and Gaster. *Vide* A. J. Cowley in *En. Bib.*; A. J. Montgomery, *l.c.*, pp. 3 f.; M. Gaster, *l.c.*, pp. 159 f.

never fail to make mention of their ancient Scroll, and usually give the *tashqīl* in whole or part, often, however, with such slight variations as can be expected from those who do not realise the necessity for complete accuracy, and trust to a fallible memory. The possession of the Abisha Scroll is not for them a matter merely of antiquarian interest. It is one of the great pillars of their religion, part and parcel of their faith.

This brings us to the consideration of the three Additions on manuscripts of the Crawford collection. They are dated 1714, 1715, and 1849. For convenience we will call them A, B, and C, according to their dating. These Additions are of special interest, as A, amongst other things, deals with the state of the *tashqīl* which no scholar has yet been able to examine at close quarters, whilst C draws attention to a dittograph in the text of the manuscript.

A.

[Rylands Sam. Codex XXII, fol. 156*a*, *b*. Add.]

A, part of which is reproduced in plate I, is written in Arabic, Naskhī script, in a good, clear hand which displays character. The writer is Meshalmah (in Arabic, Muslim), son of Ab Sakhwah, and a member of the Danafī family. He was a famous Samaritan scholar and copyist,[1] a liturgical writer with a considerable reputation, and the author of a commentary on Genesis which became one of the standard works amongst the Samaritans.[2] Meshalmah also took part in the correspondence with Europe to which we have already referred. One letter which was sent by him in the hope that it might reach the Samaritans, believed to be living in great numbers in Europe, and addressed to the brethren " wherever they be found and in

[1] His handwriting in Samaritan minuscule is very fine. He is the copyist of Sam. Codices XIII, XV, XVI, XIX in the Rylands Library. He is also part copyist of the Great Calendar [Sam. Codex XXII] which covers a period of 200 years from 1101 to 1300 A.H. His father made the entries from 1101 to 1173, Muslim from that date to 1255, and his brother Abdullah, whom he mentions in our MS., completed it.

[2] He died before completing it. It was finished by his nephew Ibrāhīm, son of Jacob, son of Murjān.

whatever corners " is found as an Addition on one of the Samaritan MSS. (a collection of prayers) now in the British Museum [B.M. MSS. Add. 19791, fols. 84 ff.] [1] As will be seen from the illustration, he gives the *tashqīl* in Samaritan majuscule, the form of their script which the Samaritans regarded as the more dignified. It is the form of script used in their synagogue rolls and their codices of the Pentateuch. By contrast he gives the references to the sections he quotes, in minuscule. Following the general practice, I have transcribed the Samaritan in Hebrew characters.

Text.[2]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين وشلوم يهوه على مشه بن عمرم نبي
كل هدوروت لما كان بتاريخ النهار المشهور بالبها والنور والفرح والسرور
وهو نهار السبت المقدس تامن شهر ذي القعد سنة خمسه وعشرين ومايه والف
وهو הדש . התשיעי . سنه ستة الاف ومايه واثنين وخمسين لخلقة ابونا ادم عليه
السلام وهي سنه تلات الاف وتلاتمايه واثنين وخمسين למושב . בני . ישראל .
ארץ . כנען بعد قرات النوبه [3] تحركة الحواس الخمس [4] واشتاقة الروح والخاطر
والنفس وقصد العبد الفقير الحقير المعترف بالدنب والفجر والتقصير عبده
مسلم ابن مرجان ابن ابراهيم السامري الدنفي ان يتشرف بفتح الكتاب
الشريف المدون من ايام الرضوان بخط سيدنا ابيشع بن فينحس بن العزر
بن اهرن هكهن شلوم يهوه عليو وان اتامل خطه الشريف والطلع على
التاريخ المشقل فيه بخط سيدنا المذكور لازداد بدلك حس يقين واتقي (؟)

[1] It was written and sent out evidently in the year 1147 A.H. (1734), twenty years after the MS. A with which we deal. It was first published in Samaritan script by M. Heidenheimer, *Schreiben Meschalma ben Ab Sechuah's an die Samaritaner ; Deutsche vierteljahrsschrift*, i (1861), pp. 78 ff. It has been printed afresh in Hebrew transcription by M. Gaster, *Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 171 ff.

[2] The Samaritans wrote Arabic, as they spoke it, in the Syrian dialect, with uncertain grammar. Thus they wrote very often ت for ث, ة for ت, and vice-versa, ض for ظ, د for ذ, and sometimes ص for س. I have given the text as I have found it written in each case.

PLATE I. PART OF MS. A. WRITER, MUSLIM (MESHALMAH) IBN MURJAN

الشك عن كل جاهل عنيد لان في زماننا هدا ومن قبل مدة طويله تزيد عن مايه سنة لم اطلعنا ولا سمعنا ان احداً فتحه ولا خبر عنه الا ما يقل في قديم الزمان في كتاب التاريخ وغيره فعند دلك [1]نهضة متكلا علي الله تعالي طالباً منه بلوغ الامل والعصمه من الخطآ والزلل وانا علي قدر ما استطعت من الطهر الكامل ومضيت الي الكنيسه واستدعيت بخدمة صدقة المخدومي الاجلي الركني الدخري السيدي السندي حضرة العم الشيخ السني ابراهيم ابن المرحوم الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ السديد اسحق هكهن هلوي שמש . המכתב . הקדוש . הזוכיר : فحضر وصحبته ولديه خدمة الشيخ לוי هكهن والشيخ سلامه هكهن وطلبت من صدقاته ان يحضر لي سيدي الكتاب المذكور ويفتحه فاجابني لمطلوبي واحضره وبديت في فتحه من الاول واني اتامل فيه وفي سطوره شويه شويه الي ان اتيت الي והיה . כי . יביאך : التي بعد שמע . ישראל . יהוה . אלהינו . יהוה . אחד : فوجدة هناك مبتدا التشقيل وهو אני . אבישע . בן . פינחס . בן . אלעזר : בן . אהרן : להם . רצון . יהוה . וכבודו : כתבתי . ספר . הקדש . בפתח . אהל . מועד : בהרנריזים : שנת . שלשה . עשר . לממלכות . בני . ישראל . ארץ . כנען : לגבולותיה . סביב : אודה . את . יהוה : ז وابتدا هده التشقيل من السوره المذكوره واخره في כי . תשמע . באחת . עריך : فلما ايقنت دلك وتحققته كاد عقلي ان يطير من راسي من شدة الفرح ومن الهيبه الهايله الذي لحقتني والله وكيل وشهيد اني [2]وجدة هده التشقيل كما شرح بتمامه ولم ناقص سوي ז . ה . الذي في العزر لان في دلك المحل وجدناه مهري ومشرمط شويه وكان حاضر معي من الشهود الكهنيم المذكورين وخدمة صدقة الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ العماد اسماعيل ابن المرحوم الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ السني ابرهيم المفرجي وقريناه حرفاً حرفاً وفتحنا بقية الكتاب الي اخره فوجدناه تماماً الي ולא . קם . עוד : ولم ناقص شي سوي في بعض الاماكن مهري ومشرمط من تداول الزمان وطوله والسلف رحمهم الله تعالي مرمينه وموصلين المهري والمتقطع ومصلحينه ثم [3]ادركة صلاة [4]الضهر وطوي العم هكهن المذكور الكتاب ورفعه الي خزانته الشريفه واجتمعت الجماعه [5]وقامة الصلاه وانا في فرح زايد الي الغايه بعد fol. 156b انتهي الصلاه شرحنا الي ساده المخاديم ما شاهدناه واطلعنا عليه فصار

[1] تهضت . [2] وجدت . [3] ادركت . [4] الظهر . [5] قامت .

للجميع فرح عظيم وغيره زايده فقالو من حيت انه موجود علي هده الحاله ويمكن قراته والله سبحانه تعالي مراعي عهده وناظر لنا بعين اللطف والرافه بذلك مرادنا نحنا ايضاً نتشرف به ونطلع عليه وعلي ما تفضل وتصدق الله به وطلبو من خدمة العم هكهن المومي اليه احضاره فاحضره وفتحناه مره تانيه واطلعنا لهم محل التشقيل وقروه الجميع حرفاً حرفاً وهم خدمة صدقة الركن الاجل الشيخ السديد اسحاق هكهن ابن خدمة العم هكهن المشار اليه وخدمة صدقة المخدومي الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ السني ابن عمنا المرحوم الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ العماد اسماعيل الدنني واخوة كاتبه وهو خدمة صدقة ركن الاركان حضرة الاخ الاعز المحترم الشيخ السني ابرهيم والاخ يعقوب والاخ اسحاق واما الاخ عبدالله ما كان وخدمة صدقة الركن الاجل العم الشيخ العماد اسماعيل ابن المرحوم العم الشيخ النجيب سرور الصباحي واخيه الشيخ [1]المهدب يوسف وخدمة صدقة الركن الاجل المحترم العم الشيخ السني ابرهيم ابن خدمة العم الشيخ العماد اسماعيل المفرجي المتقدم دكره اولاً واخيه الشيخ سعد وخدمة الشيخ العماد اسماعيل ابن خدمة صدقة الركن الاجل المحترم ابن عمنا الشيخ عبداللطيف الدنني ومن كان معهم من الحاضرين من كبار وصغار وشاهدوه عياناً [2]وصارة ساعه عظيمه [3]وتضاعفة الافراح عند الجميع والحمد والشكر الي الله تعالي الذي من وتصدق علي قهل يشرال بهده العطيه العظيمه الكامله الشامله ان شا الله تعالي الي الرضوان لانه من شاهده كان شاهد ايام الرضوان لانه كتب في ايامه ومن المعلوم ان الذي كتبه قد سمع التورات المشرفه من פּי משה . בן . עמרם . שלום . יהוה . עליו : فطوبانا وطوبا اسلافنا واولادنا من بعدنا بهده الكتاب الشريف ووجوده بايدينا وتقي الشك عن كل جاهل وابطال كلام اليهود الجحود الذي يدعون ان التورات بايديهم وتاركين الحق ومتبعين الباطل ويقولون لسنا اهل كتاب فمن عين لطف الله ورافته ابقي هدا الكتاب الشريف من ايام الرضوان الي يومنا هدا حتي يبطل قول من قال والحمد لله العظيم المتعال وشلوم يهوه عل ادونن مشه بن عمرم نبي كل هعولم وكتبه المملوك مسلم المذكور عفي الله عن دنبه ووزره وغفر له ولوالديه ولجميع قهل يشرال هسجوديم لهرجريزيم بيت ال امين.

[1] . المهذب [2] . صارت [3] . تضاعفت

Translation.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, in whom we seek aid. And the peace of the Lord be upon Moses, son of Amram, prophet of all the ages.

When the day arrived set apart by its splendour and light and happiness and joy, namely, the holy Sabbath, the eighth (day) of the month Dhu 'l-Qa'dah of the year 1125, corresponding to the ninth month of the year 6152 from the creation of our father Adam, on whom be peace, which is also the year 3352 from the Children of Israel's occupation of the land of Canaan,[1] after the reading of the *Nubah*,[2] with his five senses stirred, and spirit, heart and soul filled with craving, the wretched slave (servant) who acknowledges his sins, faults, and shortcomings, the slave Muslim, son of Murjān, son of Ibrāhīm, the Samaritan, the Danafī, made resolve that he would seek the honour of an unrolling (فتح) of the illustrious book, preserved since the days of the *Ridhwān* in the handwriting of our Master, Abisha', son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, the Priest, the peace of the Lord be upon him, and should examine its illustrious writing and search out the *tashqīl* embraced in it in the handwriting of our Master aforesaid, to promote thereby the feeling of certainty and to dispel doubt from (the mind of) every ignorant sceptic, since during our time and for a long time before—for more, indeed, than a hundred years—we had not sought it out and we had not heard that anyone had unrolled it, and there was no word concerning it save what was said aforetime in the history book and so forth. So, thereupon, I proceeded to the execution of my resolve, putting my trust in God, Most High, seeking at his hands the successful issue of my hopes and immunity from sin and wrongdoing. Having, then, attained, as far as I could attain, to the pitch of perfect cleanness, I repaired to the synagogue and sought an interview

[1] Three eras are here given. Other eras used by the Samaritans were the Christian (Al-Rūmī), that from Alexander (Dhu'l Qarnain) and the Persian Yezdegird.

[2] النوبه appears to have been a part of the service where the worshippers joined in the reading of the Scripture passages.

with Service,[1] Righteousness, Pillar, Exalted, Respected, Revered, True, Shaikh, Isaac, the Priest, the Levite, servant of the holy Scroll,[2] the Recorder. He appeared, accompanied by his two sons, Ri., Sh., Levi, Pr., and Sh., Salāmah.[3] I made request of his Righteousness that he should produce for me my Master[4] the Book, already referred to, and unroll it. He acceded to my request and brought it forth. I began to unroll it from the beginning, examining it and its lines bit by bit until I came to (the section) "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" [Dt. 6. 4], and there I found the beginning of the *tashqīl*. It is (as follows). "I, Abīsha', son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, on them be the favour of the Lord and his glory, wrote the holy book in the door of the Tent of Meeting on Mount Gerizim, in the thirteenth year of the dominion of the Children of Israel over the land of Canaan to its borders round about. I praise the Lord." The beginning of this *tashqīl* was at the place indicated and its end in (the section) "And if thou shalt hear say in one of thy cities".[5]

So when I made sure of that and verified it my reason almost took flight (طير) from my head from excess of joy and from the awesome fear which gripped me. Yet God is my witness and my warranty that I found this *tashqīl* as set forth in detail, and there was nothing lacking of it save the *z*, *r* of Eleazar, since at

[1] These are mostly honorific titles, many of them expressed through abstract nouns much as we use Majesty, Grace, Honour, Worship, Reverence, etc. As these terms occur frequently in the text I will use the following contractions. C. = Column; E. = Exalted; Exc. = Excellency; Mag. = Magnanimous; Mas. = Master; N. = Noble; Pi. = Pillar; Pr. = Priest; Pre. = Presence; Res. = Respected; Rev. = Revered; Ri. = Righteousness; Se. = Service; Sh. = Shaikh; T. = True; U. = Upright.

[2] שמש . חמכתב . הקדוש—evidently not "sun of the holy Scroll," but guardian, attendant. The word שַׁמָּשׁ is so used in late Hebrew.

[3] Salāmah is the Arabic transcript of שְׁלֹמֹה (Solomon). The Arabs use the diminutive form سُلَيْمَان.

[4] سيدى is equivalent to our Sir or Mr. It is a title of honour applied to the Abisha Scroll. The form سيدنا (our Master) is also applied to the Scroll. Generally, its use is restricted to prophets and patriarchs.

[5] Deut. 13. 12 (Eng.) and 13. 13 (Heb.).

that place we found it ragged and somewhat torn. There were present with me as witnesses the priests already mentioned, together with Se., Ri., Pi., E., Res., Rev., Sh., C., Ismā'īl, son of the late Pi., E., Res., Rev., Sh., N., Ibrāhīm al-Mufarrijī, and we read it letter by letter and unrolled the rest of the Scroll to the end. We found it complete to (the section) " And there arose not since (a prophet) ".[1] There lacked nothing of it save that in some places it was rent and tattered from the revolution of time and its lapse, and the past generations, may God, Most High, have mercy on them, who have repaired it, patched up its raggedness and tatteredness, and restored it.

But, now, the midday prayer intervened and the Rev. the Priest rolled up the Scroll and replaced it in its illustrious receptacle. The congregation assembled and the service proceeded and all the time I was beside myself with joy. When the service was ended we described to the worthy masters [2] what we had witnessed and discovered. All were affected with great joy and growing enthusiasm and they argued " Because it is found in this condition and capable of being read, it must be that God, glory be to Him, is faithful to His covenant and is regarding us with an eye of loving kindness and tender mercy. Hence it is our intention also to obtain honour through it and be made closely acquainted both with it and with that through which God has shown favour and loving kindness." [3] Thereupon they besought Se., Ri., Pi., E., Sh., T., Isaac, Pr., son of Se., Res., the Priest already indicated, to bring it forth and he did so. Then we unrolled it a second time and sought out for them the place of the *tashqīl*. They all read it letter by letter, and they were Se., Ri., Pi., E., Sh., T., Isaac, Pr., son of Se., Res., the Priest already indicated, and Se., Ri., Mas., Pi., E., Res., Rev., Sh., N., our cousin, son of our paternal uncle, Pi., E., Res., Rev., Sh., C., Ismā'īl, the Danafī, and the brothers of the writer, namely, Se.,

[1] Deut. 34. 10—the last section of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan text has נביא · עוד · קם · ולא, whilst the Massoretic text has ולא קם נביא עוד. This is one of a large number of minor differences between the texts.

[2] السادة المخاديم—presumably the lay people of standing in the Samaritan community.

[3] I.e. the *tashqīl*.

Ri., Pi. of Pillars, Pre., beloved brother, Res., Rev., Sh., N., Ibrāhīm, and the brother Jacob, and the brother Isaac (but the brother Abdullah was not there) and Se., Ri., Pi., E., Rev., Sh., C., Ismā'īl, son of the late Rev., Se., Mag., Surūr, the Ṣabāḥī and his brother Sh., U., Joseph, and Se., Ri., Pi., E., Res., Rev., Sh., N., Ibrāhīm, son of Se., Rev., Sh., C., Ismā'īl, the Mufarrijī, of whom mention was made at the first and his brother Sh., Sa'd, and Se., Sh., C., Ismā'īl, son of Se., Ri., Pi., E., Res., our cousin, Sh., 'Abdu 'l-Latīf, the Danafī, and whosoever was present with them, both old and young, and they had the witness of their own eyes. It was, indeed, a great occasion (lit. hour), and joy was redoubled in the assembly. Praise and thanks to God, the Most High, who has bestowed favour and kindness upon the congregation of Israel by this great and perfect gift, reaching back, if God so will, to the *Ridhwān*, for he who witnessed it, witnessed the days of the *Ridhwān*, since it was written in those days. It is, moreover, matter of common knowledge that he who wrote it did verily hear the illustrious Torah from the lips of Moses, son of Amram, the peace of the Lord be upon him.[1] How blessed are we, our fathers before us, and our children after us through this noble book and its presence in our midst with its warding-off of doubt from the minds of all the ignorant, and its refutation of the Jews, the apostates, who claim that the Torah is theirs, who forsake the true to follow the false, and assert that we are not "people of a book".[2] But it is the extreme grace and mercy of God which has caused this book to survive from the days of the *Ridhwān* to this our day, in order

[1] At this point there is an interlinear addition in another hand, as follows : وهدا المدرج منقول عن مدرج خط مشه بن عمرم, i.e. "And this scroll was copied from the scroll in the handwriting of Moses, son of Amram."

[2] The followers of a book religion were assured of protection by the Moslems. There is a famous instance when the Samaritans were saved by Jewish intervention. In the year 1841 a conspiracy was formed amongst the Moslems in Nāblūs to murder the Samaritans. The Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, however, issued a certificate to the effect that "the Samaritan people is a branch of the Children of Israel, who acknowledge the truth of the Torah". This appeased the fanatical Moslems, since it determined the right of the Samaritan people to protection. *Vide* E. T. Rogers, *Notices of Modern Samaritans*, London, 1853, p. 29.

to defeat such babblings. Praise be to God, the Almighty, the Most High, and the peace of the Lord be upon our Master, Moses, son of Amram, prophet of all time. The writer is the slave Muslim aforesaid. May God pardon his transgression and ease his burden of iniquity, and may he grant forgiveness to him and to his parents, and to the whole congregation of Israel who worship towards Mount Gerizim, Beth-el. Amen.

B.

[Rylands Sam. Codex XXII, fol. 5*a*, Add. No. 4.]

An echo of the search for the *tashqīl* recounted in A above is given in an Addition to the same Codex in the manuscript note which we call B. It is unfortunately in a fragmentary condition. It consists of a number of lines written diagonally in the margin. As a portion of the margin has been torn away and then repaired at this point and as the margin also was further cut down in binding the volume, only portions of the note are available. We gather, however, that the writer, who did not belong to the Danafī family was impressed with the account given by Muslim and successfully sought for himself a similar experience. The writing is not clear. It is slipshod and rather difficult to read. We learn that the writer was Surūr al-Maṭarī, son of Ghazāl, hailed from Gaza and was on a visit to Nablus in the year 1715. There is an addition in this same codex certifying that his son Ibrāhīm had passed the first stage of an educational course in 1716.[1]

Text.

طالع في هذا الحل المبارك وما حوي من تواريخ وغيره العبد الفقير المعترف بالعجز والتقصير الراجي عفو ربه الغفور المتعال سرور المطري ابن غزال غفر الله تعالي له وسمح عن سياته امين اللهم امين ودلك في شهر رجب الفرد من شهور سنه ١١٢٧ عربيه وكان سبب حضور كاتبه من مدينه غزه لمحروسه نابلوس اوله للحج الشريف والثاني للدخول على بيته الجديد ولما بلغ منا مسامعه ما شاهدوه الساده المخاديم من التشقيل الموجود

[1] Rylands Sam. Codex XXII, fol. 156*b*, Add.

في الكتاب المقدس الذي هو بخط سيدنا ابيشع بن فينحس وكتبه وهو فى باب خبا المحضر فمالت نفسه للتقديس . . . في دلك وطلب من خدمه صدقه العم . . . ان يطلعه علي دلك فاجابه الي . . . الشريف المدكور وشاهد ما هو . . . من غير ريب (؟) ولاشك في دلك . . . كل وقت واوان ونساله العفو والله . . . امين.

TRANSLATION.

There examined this blessed calendar [1] and what it contains of incidents (or dates) and so forth, the poor slave, who acknowledges his sins and shortcomings hoping for the forgiveness of his Lord, the supreme Forgiver, the Most High, Surūr al-Maṭarī, son of Ghazāl, may God, Most High pardon him and forgive him his sins, Amen, O our God, Amen! and that in the month of Rajab the Unique, of the months of the year 1127 Arab reckoning, and the reason for the presence of the writer from the town Gaza in the metropolis Nāblūs was in the first place for the illustrious pilgrimage,[2] and in the second for entry to his new home, and when the reports reached him of what the worthy Masters had witnessed of the *tashqīl* which is found in the Holy Book in the handwriting of Abīsha', son of Phinehas, which he wrote in the door of the Tent of the Presence, his soul inclined towards sanctification . . . in that, and he made request of Se., Ri., Rev., . . . that he might seek it out, and he acceded to his request . . . the Exalted, aforementioned and he witnessed what was . . . without suspicion (?) and there is no doubt . . . all times and seasons, and we ask pardon and God . . . Amen.

Evidently, then, in the year following the re-discovery of the *tashqīl* by Muslim, the Scroll was once more unrolled to permit the Samaritan stranger from Gaza [3] to witness it. It is, also, of interest to note that Muslim, who sent out a letter to Samaritans

[1] حل lit. key or solution. The codex is a calendar.

[2] The Passover Festival on Mount Gerizim.

[3] The Samaritans, driven hither and thither during their troublous times, established colonies in Gaza, Askalon, Cæsarea, Damascus, Cairo, Jerusalem, Jaffa, amongst others. Some went to Rome and to Italy. The last of the colonies (Gaza) died out about 1820.

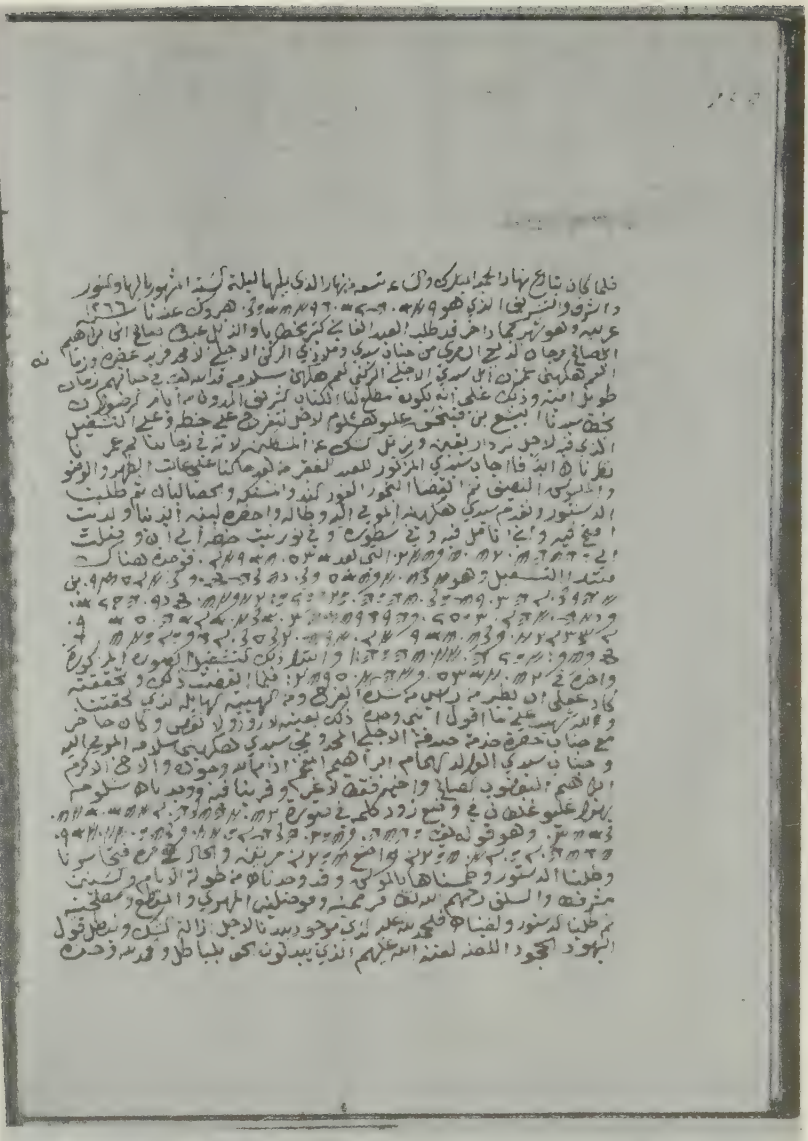

PLATE 2.—PART OF MS. C.—WRITER: SÂLIḤ IBN IBRAHÎM IBN SALIḤ MURTÂḌ.

abroad twenty years later (1734), when quoting the *tashqīl*, makes some changes in the wording. Instead of ספר הקדש we find ספר התורה הקדושה (book of the holy Torah) and מושב (dwelling) instead of ממלכת or ממלכות. The further information is given that the Scroll is kept in the synagogue under the care of the High Priest and brought out on the occasion of their festivals.

C.

[Rylands Sam. Codex XIV, p. 158, Add.]

The manuscript C is found in Codex XIV, a collection which may be fitly described as Samaritan Hymns Ancient and Modern. The writer is Ṣāliḥ, son of Ibrāhīm, the Danafī, a great-great-grandson of Muslim, the writer of A. He has evidently read Muslim's story and has modelled his account of the parallel happening in 1849 on that of Muslim. The handwriting is slovenly, lacking in character, and rather difficult to read. A reproduction of the MS. is given in Plate II.

Text.

فلما كان بتاريخ نهار الجمعه المبارك والساعه تسعه من نهار الدي يليها (؟) ليلة السبت المشهور بالبها والنور والشرف والتشريف الدي هو ראש . חדש . הראישון . هبروك عندنا سنه ١٢٦٦ عربيه وهو شهر جماد اخر قد طلب العبد الفاني كثير الخطايا والزلل عبده صالح ابن ابراهيم ابن صالح مرجان الدنفي السامري من جناب سيدي وملاذي الركن الاجلي الامجد فريد عصره وزمانه العم هكهين عمران ابن سيدي الاجلي الركني العم هكهن سلامه مد الله تعالي في حياتهم زمان طويل امين وذلك علي انه يكون مطلع (؟) لنا الكتاب الشريف المدون من ايام الرضوان بخط سيدنا ابيشع بن فينحس عليو هشلوم لاجل تفرج علي خطه وعلي التشقيل الذي فيه لاجل نزداد يقين ونزيل الشك عن المشككين لانه في زماننا لم عمرنا نظرناه ابداً فاجاب سيدي المذكور للعبد الفقير من بعد ما كنا علي [1]غايت الطهر والوضو والملبوس [2]النضيف ثم ايقضنا البخور [3]المور الند والمستكه والحصالبان ثم

[3]المرّ [2]النظيف [1]غاية

طلبت الدستور وتقدم سيدي هكهين المومي اليه وطاله واحضره لبين ايدينا وبديت افتح فيه واني اتامل فيه وفي سطوره وفي نور [1]نيت خطه الي ان وصلت الي [2]והיהי . כי . יביאך . التي بعد שמע . ישראל . فوجدت هناك مبتدا التشقيل وهو אני . אבישע . בן . פינחס . בן . אלעזר . בן . אהרן . להם . רצון . יהוה . וכבודו : כתבתי . ספר . הקדש . בפתח . אהל . מועד . בהרנריזים . שנת . שלשה . עשר . לממלכת . בני . ישראל . ארץ . כנען . לנבולותיה . סביב : אחדה . את . יהוה:ו وابتدا ذلك التشقيل [3]بالصوره المذكوره واخره في כי . תשמע . באחת . עריך . فلما ايقضت ذلك وتحققته كاد عقلي ان يطير من راسي من شدة الفرح ومن الهيبه الهايله الذي لحقتنا والله شهيد علي ما اقول انني [4]وجدة ذلك بعين لا زود ولا نقص وكان حاضر معي جناب حضرة خدمة صدقة الاجلي المخدومي سيدي هكهين سلامه المومي اليه وجناب سيدي الوالد الامام ابراهيم المفخم ادام الله وجوده والاخ الاكرم ابراهيم ابن (؟) يعقوب الصالح واخيه فقط لا غير وقرينا فيه ووجدناه شلوم يهوه عليو غلطان في وضع زود كلمه في سوره כי . תהינה . לאיש . שתי . נשים . وهو قول تعالي והיה . ביום . הנחלו . את . בניו . את . אשר . יהיה . לו . לא . יוכל . واضع יוכל . مرتين والحال في مره فتجاسرنا وطلبنا الدستور وطمسناها [5]بالموسه وقد وجدناه من طولة الايام والسنين مشرمط والسلف ورحمهم الله تعالي مرممينه وموصلينه المهري والمقطع ومصلحينه تم طلبنا الدستور [6]فلقيناه فلحمد لله علي الدي موجود بيدنا لاجل ازالة الشك وتبطل قول اليهود الجحود اللعنه لعنة الله عليهم الدي يبدلون الحق بالباطل والحمد لله وحده.

Translation.

So when the day of Friday the Blessed arrived, and the ninth hour of the day on which follows the eve of the Sabbath distinguished by its splendour and light and honour and dignity, which is the beginning of the first month, the blessed, of the year 1266, Arabic reckoning, corresponding to the month Jumādā II,

[1] نية (؟)
[2] So written. Mistake for והיה.
[3] بالسوره
[4] وجدت
[5] موسه for موسى
[6] It appears to be so written. Or should it be read لففناه = "we wrapped it up"?

the slave, who is mortal and full of sins and shortcomings, the slave Sāliḥ, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Saliḥ Murjān, the Danafī, the Samaritan petitioned my Master and my Succour, Pi., E., Magnificent, U. of his age and time, Rev., Pr., Amrān, son of my Mas., E., Pi., Rev., Pr., Salāmah, may God grant full measure of time in their lives, amen. (The petition was) to the effect that he might submit to us for examination the illustrious Scroll preserved since the days of the *Ridhwān* in the handwriting of our Master, Abīsha', son of Phinehas, on whom be peace, in order that we might feast our eyes on its writing and on the *tashqīl* found in it to the end that we might increase exact knowledge, and dispel doubt from the minds of doubters, since in our day no one of us, whatsoever, had seen it.[1]

My Master, the aforesaid, acceded to the request of the poor slave, after we had brought ourselves to the highest pitch of purification with (ceremonial) washing and clean clothing. Then we kindled incenses, myrrh, ambergris, musk (?) and *haṣalubān.* We now sought permission, and my Mas., the Priest, beforementioned, approached, put on the *tallith,*[2] and brought it forth, and set it in our hands. I proceeded to unroll it and made close examination of it and its lines and the fineness of its writing until I came to " And it shall be when (the Lord thy God) shall have brought thee " which comes after " Hear, O Israel," and there I found the beginning of the *tashqīl.* It is (as follows). " I, Abīsha', son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, the Priest, on them be the favour of the Lord and his glory, wrote the holy book in the door of the Tent of Meeting on Mount Gerizim, in the thirteenth year of the dominion of the Children of Israel over the land of Canaan to its borders round about. I praise the Lord." And the beginning of the *tashqīl* was the passage indicated and its end was in " If thou shalt hear say in one of thy cities. . . ." When, indeed, I became aware of it and verified it my reason all but took flight from my head from excess of joy and the awesome fear which gripped me, and God is witness

[1] I.e. the *tashqīl.*

[2] طالله , I think, must mean " put on the *Tallith,*" a cloth which the priest put on his head when handling the Scroll.

when I say that I found it so, adding and subtracting nothing.[1] There were present along with me, Exc., Pre., Se., Ri., E., Mas., Sir, Pr., Salāmah, afore-mentioned, and Exc., Sir, my father, Pr., Ibrāhīm, Hon., may God prolong his life, and brother, N., Ibrāhīm, son of Jacob, al-Ṣāliḥ, and his brother, only these, no one else. And we read in it and found it, the peace of the Lord be upon it, at fault in putting a word too many in (the section) " If a man have two wives," [2] and that in the word of the Most High, " Then it shall be when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not " (לא יכל), the word יכל was put twice where it should be but once. So we presumed much (نجاسرنا) and sought permission and erased it with a penknife.[3] And, indeed, we found it (the Scroll) tattered from length of days and years and the past generations, may God have mercy on them, who patched it, redeemed its raggedness, and rents, and restored it. Then we sought permission and we repaired it [4] (?). Praise be to God for that which is found in our hands for the purpose of dispelling doubt and refuting the allegations of the Jews, the apostates—the curse, the curse of God, be upon them, who substitute falsehood for truth. And praise be to God alone.

The accounts cited above given by the Samaritans themselves make it very clear with what superstitious reverence they regarded their Scroll. So much were they affected by it that it scarcely seems possible that it would ever be shown to one not of their own faith. Yet Europeans have been shown it, have even seen the *tashqīl*, and, on one occasion at least, touched it. Their experiences add much to our knowledge of the Scroll.

In the early years of the rediscovery of the Samaritans they

[1] The text here is uncertain, but should probably be read لا زود ولا نقص. That it is to be so understood may be inferred from the statement prepared by the late High Priest Jacob, where in the same connection occur the words בלא מוסף ולא מגרע.

[2] Deut. 21. 15.

[3] موسى is the ordinary word for a razor, but in Modern Arabic it is generally used for a penknife.

[4] Appears to be لفيناه. Is it لففناه = ' wrapped up ' ?

would not allow any ordinary copy of their Pentateuch to pass into the hands of strangers. In 1616 Pietro della Valle when commissioned to procure a Samaritan Pentateuch was unable to get one either at Nablus or Cairo, and finally managed to get one from a Jew in Damascus. Yet strangely enough a hundred years later a Mr. Usgate made an attempt to secure the old Scroll by purchase. He reported that he had been at "Naplose" and had made proposals for the purchase of the old manuscript of the Pentateuch, "some passages of which were so effaced as to be scarce legible," and that he "hoped soon to agree with them for the purchase of it".[1] Mr. Usgate was perhaps over sanguine, as it seems most unlikely that the Samaritans at that time would have seriously entertained the idea of parting with it. As Mr. Usgate was soon after cut to pieces by a party of Persians, nothing did come of it. The only other recorded attempt to secure the Scroll by purchase was made about 1874, the agent in the matter being the adroit Samaritan, Jacob Shellaby, well known in this country. This aroused so much hostility that he was forced to leave the community.[2]

In almost every instance where a European has seen the Scroll he has only succeeded in doing so by refusing to be misled into accepting later scrolls and codices as the genuine Scroll of Abisha, although affirmed as such by the priest. Bishop Huntington, to whom reference has already been made, was one of the earliest to claim to have seen the Scroll. When Huntington wished to have it unrolled so that he could see the colophon they told him it had been cut out of the manuscript by some vandal. It is improbable that Huntington was aware of the particular form of the colophon he asked to see, but at least he was aware that the Samaritans were deceiving him.

[1] B. Kennicott, *State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament ; Dissertation II*, Oxford, 1879, p. 541. A. J. Montgomery, *l.c.*, p. 8.

[2] "In England he appeared for some time in the character of a Samaritan prince. He supplied travellers with many ancient Samaritan hymn books, purloined, it is said, while the congregation were reverently prostrating themselves. He described to us with immense gusto the mode of preparing ancient manuscripts by steeping a skin in coffee grounds and placing it for a month or two under the pillows of the divan."—C. R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, London, 1878, I, p. 34.

The late King Edward, as Prince of Wales, visited Nablus in the year 1860, and was shown *three* ancient scrolls. The existence of so many had not hitherto been suspected. On this occasion there is good reason to believe the Abīsha Scroll was one of them.

A German savant, H. Petermann, who spent some months in Nablus and engaged the high priest as his teacher, records that he was shown the Priests' Blessing [Nu. 6. 24 f.] on a piece of parchment in the handwriting of Eleazar, son of Aaron. This was shown him after the Samaritans had carefully purified themselves and burned much incense. The grandson of the high priest trembled from fear when he took the parchment in his hand. Petermann adds that they have a synagogue roll of Abisha, but does not claim to have seen it. As the Samaritans in their letters to Europe make no claim to the possession of a writing by Eleazar, it may be that what Petermann saw was the Scroll, or *a* scroll, open at the Aaronic Blessing.[1] But Samaritan pretensions have even covered writings by Seth and Moses.[2]

One of the first to see and give an adequate description of the Scroll was the Welshman, J. Mills.[3] " The roll itself is of what we should call parchment, but of a material much older than that, written in columns thirteen inches deep and seven and a half inches wide. The writing is in a fair hand. . . . The writing being rather small, each column contains from seventy to seventy-two lines, and the whole roll contains a hundred and ten columns. The name of the scribe is written in a kind of acrostic, and forms part of the text running through three columns, and is found in the Book of Deuteronomy.[4] The roll has the appearance of a very high antiquity and is wonderfully well preserved considering

[1] H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig, 1860, I, p. 282.

[2] " As to later times, though their books be very few, yet amongst those few they have boasted of one of Seth's writings as we find in Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, p. 6, as they did also heretofore value themselves upon a Book of Prayers, written by Moses and given to them (if you please to believe it) and kept by their high priest upon Mount Gerizim "—*An Account of the Samaritans in a Letter to J—— M—— Esq.*, London, 1714. (Anonymous.)

[3] J. Mills, *Nablus and the Modern Samaritans*, London, 1864.

[4] He adds a note that for the information on the acrostic he had to depend upon Jacob, the nephew of the high priest—the same Jacob Shellaby of whom we have already taken notice.

its venerable age. It is worn out and torn in many places and patched with re-written parchment ; in many other places, where not torn, the writing is unreadable. But it seemed to me that about two-thirds of the original is still readable. The skins of which the roll is composed are of equal size and measure each twenty-five inches long and fifteen inches wide " (pp. 312 f.).

In the same year (1861), but three months later, two proselytes to Christianity from Judaism, Levisohn, a Russian, and Kraus, a German, had the good fortune, through friendship with the high priest, to be present in the synagogue when the Scroll was being transferred to a new case. They viewed the entire manuscript spread out at full length on the synagogue floor. They supplied notes to the German scholar G. Rosen, then in Jerusalem, who communicated them by letter to the Arabist Fleischer.[1] The additional information supplied by them is that the skins are written only on the hair side, and are of unequal size, so that at most six, sometimes only five, text columns are contained in them. They are skilfully bound to each other by five thongs of the same material. The parchment was as thin as paper in many places, and often appeared strangely blackened as if the ink had run over it. According to Kraus, only half the contents were legible. Only one column of the fifth book (Deuteronomy) viz., Chapter 19. 8 ff., is well preserved, and can be read right through from top to bottom. The letters are very close together. An empty space of at most three finger-breadths is left between the books. On that occasion they were not allowed to handle it, nor even to approach it closely. But they managed to bribe Jacob Shellaby, the priest's nephew, and when the priest was away they got access to it, put a piece of transparent paper over the best-preserved column, and took a rough tracing.

H. B. Tristram,[2] who saw it in 1865, has nothing new to add. C. R. Conder, who saw it twice, the first time in 1872 and the second time in 1875, when he was accompanied by Lieutenant (later Lord) Kitchener, says of the Scroll. " The handwriting is small and rather irregular, the lines far apart, the ink is faded

[1] *Alte Handschriften des Samaritanischen Pentateuchs, Z.D.M.G.*, XVIII (1864), pp. 582-9.

[2] *The Land of Israel*, 3rd ed., London, 1876, p. 154.

and of a purplish hue, the parchment torn, very yellow, and patched in places." [1] J. L. Porter, who saw it prior to 1889, ventures the view, "Judging by the appearance of the vellum and the character of the writing I should say it may be as old as the sixth century." [2]

In more recent years the Scroll has been viewed by Dr. M. Gaster,[3] who says, "It has been my privilege to see it and satisfy myself of its extreme antiquity. . . . Parts have become illegible, some of the letters have been rewritten, and it consists mainly of a mass of patches held together by a backing. Altogether it is in such a dilapidated condition that only the utmost care in handling it will preserve it. . . . It would be impossible to make it later than the first century; it may be older, but it is certainly not later than the date assigned by me." He adds that he has seen and closely examined all the Samaritan scrolls and codices in England, and it is on the strength of this comparative study that he advances his opinion.

A concluding word about the *tashqīl*. Dr. Gaster, in order to settle its text, asked the late high priest Jacob to give him an accurate transcription. The form he gives differs from that given by Muslim in A. Jacob gives זה ספר הקדוש instead of ספר הקדש. He adds בית אל after הרגריזים, and has מושב instead of ממלכת. The form supplied by Jacob is much less likely than that given by Muslim. The expression זה ספר הקדוש requires some explaining, and though it might be justified has a late ring about it. The addition of בית אל to הרגריזים is also reminiscent of the later controversies with the Jews. מושב instead of ממלכת is possible, but מושב is the term which the Samaritans in later times preferred to use in their dating and may be suspect on that ground. It is a great pity that Dr. Gaster could not verify the *tashqīl* himself, but as he was not allowed to approach the Scroll closely, his task would be well nigh impossible. The probability is that the state of the Scroll is such that the *tashqīl* cannot be accurately read. Much the most probable is the form given by Muslim. His transcription was made under special

[1] *Tent Work*, I, p. 50.

[2] *Through Samaria to Galilee and the Jordan*, London, 1889, p. 32.

[3] *The Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 107 ff.

circumstances which ensured accuracy. It was made by a scholar and it has the advantage of having been made two hundred years before that of Jacob, when the manuscript was in a better state of preservation.

The origin of the famous old Scroll remains a mystery. That it must be very old is, as we have seen, admitted. How it survived the waves of persecution that overwhelmed the Samaritan community is another mystery. But in the dingy little synagogue at Nablus, within the curtained niche, is the oldest manuscript of the Pentateuch extant. It antedates Codex Sinaiticus,[1] and that probably by five or six hundred years. To recall that the oldest dated Hebrew manuscript is no earlier than the tenth century only increases our wonder. That it will supply us with readings other than those furnished by Samaritan Pentateuchs in European possession, is not to be expected. It is reported that a photographic copy has been made of the whole of it.[2] But even if so, it is doubtful if it will be legible. What will happen to it with the extinction of the Samaritan race, which cannot long be delayed? That "Our Master, the Scroll" may find a final resting place in some great library, where, with modern methods of treatment, the rent and tattered pages may be preserved in their existing condition indefinitely, must be the wish of all.

[1] Only a small fragment of Genesis has survived of Sinaiticus. The rest of the Pentateuch went to kindle the fires of the Convent of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

[2] "I have been informed by Mr. Warren of Michigan that a photographic copy of the whole of it (i.e. the Abisha Scroll) has been taken by the American Society, and that the plates are now stored away in Jerusalem. One can only hope they will survive the devastation of the War"—M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, I, p. 464. [Extr. from *J.R.A.S.*, 1918.] We can only hope that this has been done, and that it was really the old Scroll which has been photographed. I seem to recollect that the Palestine Exploration Fund thought they had obtained photographs of a part of it many years ago. What was photographed, however, was not the Scroll of Abisha.

MALORY'S *MORTE DARTHUR* IN THE LIGHT OF A RECENT DISCOVERY [1]

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CAXTON'S edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur* printed at Westminster in 1485 has so far been regarded as the earliest extant version of the work.[2] In the preface to his edition Caxton remarked that 'many noble volumes' had been written about King Arthur in French, but that none was available in English. 'Wherefore', he added, 'I have, after the symple connynge that God hath sent to me, under the favour and correctyon of al noble lordes and gentylmen, enprysed to enprynte a book of the noble hystoryes of the sayd kynge Arthur and of certeyn of hys knyghtes, after a copye unto me delyvered, whyche copye syr Thomas Malory dyd take oute of certeyn bookes of Frensshe and reduced it into Englysshe'. Until quite recently no manuscript of Malory's 'copye' was known to exist; all the innumerable editions of the *Morte Darthur* from the fifteenth century down to the present day were based directly or indirectly on Caxton's print.

The fact that the study of Malory depended so completely on Caxton and his 'simple cunning' was a serious obstacle to an accurate understanding of the work. Caxton like most early printers, was not merely careless; he was dangerously full of initiative and he had the unwelcome habit of silently editing his texts. We knew from his own Preface that he had divided

[1] Elaboration of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th of December, 1934.

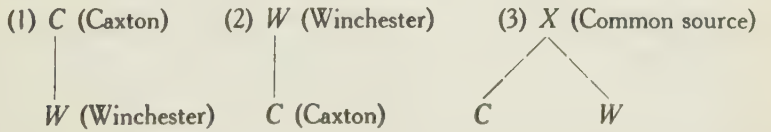
[2] Two copies of this edition are extant: one in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the other in the John Rylands Library. H. O. Sommer's reprint of the *Morte Darthur* (London: Nutt, 1889-1891) is based on the Rylands copy.

the text into books and chapters, but we were otherwise completely in the dark as to his treatment of Malory's legacy. We could not separate Malory from his printer.

A fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Morte Darthur* which had been in the possession of the Library of Winchester College for at least a hundred years came to light a year ago.[1] Mr. W. F. Oakeshott, Librarian of the Fellows' Library, who was the first to draw attention to this document, published an account of it in two successive articles : in *The Times* on 25 August, 1934, and in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 27 September. I have since been able to make a close study of the manuscript preparatory to an edition of the *Morte Darthur*,[2] and the object of the present essay is to give a preliminary survey of some of the problems arising out of the newly discovered text.

1. The Two Versions.

The Winchester manuscript belongs much to the same period as Caxton, but whether it was produced a few years before or after Caxton's edition remains uncertain.[3] Our first task is therefore to look for such internal evidence as would enable us to determine their relation to one another. *A priori* there are three possible alternatives :



To solve our problem we must eliminate on grounds of textual differences any two of the above diagrams. Now it stands to reason that none of them can be eliminated as long as we are

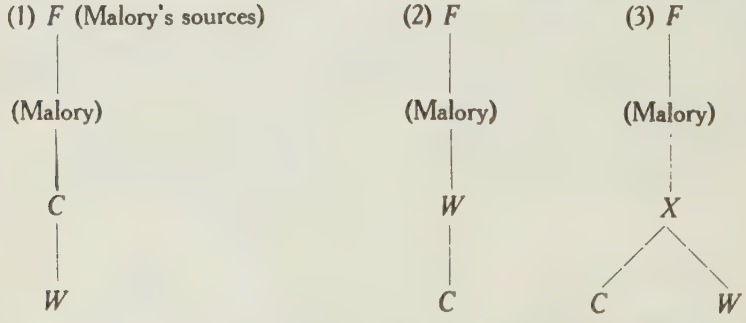
[1] *The Times*, 26th June, 1934. The manuscript lacks a gathering of eight leaves (out of some 492) at both ends. It is indeed regrettable that this should have prevented its identification and correct cataloguing for so long.

[2] I am much indebted to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College for their kind permission to use the manuscript, and to the John Rylands Library for having accepted its custody during the current year.

[3] Neither linguistic nor palæographical evidence would warrant a more precise dating. Mr. A. J. Collins, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, has identified one of the watermarks with that on a document dated 1475. (Cf. *The Times*, *loc. cit.*).

limited to our two texts. *W* may seem to us to contain 'better' and more 'correct' readings than *C* or *vice versa*. But such readings may only be 'better' from our point of view without necessarily belonging to the source. *W* may clarify some passages in *C* just as *C* may help to interpret some obscurities in *W*, but in neither case is there any certainty that the clearer of the two readings is authentic and that the more obscure one is a corruption. And in the absence of any further evidence as to what Malory really wrote the problem would remain for ever unsolved.

Fortunately such evidence exists: it is provided by Malory's sources. His *Morte Darthur* was not an original work. It was an adaptation, in a shortened form, of earlier romances. Chief among these were the various branches of the French Arthurian prose Cycle of the thirteenth century which Malory followed very closely, not to say servilely, and which, to use Caxton's phrase, he 'reduced' into English.[1] If we take this into account we can supplement our alternative diagrams as follows:



Malory must obviously be placed in each case on the line connecting *F* with its nearest derivative (*C*, *W*, or *X*), and for all we know may be identical with *C*, *W*, or *X*. For the purpose of the present discussion, however, we must limit ourselves to the three *extant* authorities: *F*, *C*, and *W*; our object is to decide, by a process of elimination, which of the above diagrams would account correctly for the relation of these three texts to one another.

[1] On Malory's sources see my *Malory*, pp. 128-154; H. O. Sommer's edition of the text, vol. 3, pp. 1-294; and E. Vetterman's *Balen Dichtungen* in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. für rom. Philologie*, lx, pp. 52-84.

Diagram 1 implies that *C* is an intermediary between *F* and *W*, and that, barring mere coincidence, whatever is common to *F* and *W* must also be found in *C*. This, however, is emphatically not the case. To give one example out of many, the spelling of proper names in *W* is very often similar to *F* but different from *C*; e.g. *Marhalte* in *W*; *Morhoult* in *F*; *Marhaus* in *C*, and it is clearly impossible to admit the derivation *Morhoult* > *Marhaus* > *Marhalte*. There are numerous instances of this kind and the acceptance of diagram 1 would imply a series of incredible formulae such as *Brangien* > *Bragwayne* > *Brangwayne*, or *Esclabor* > *Astlabor* > *Asclabor*. All these and many other examples make it imperative to conclude that *C* is *not* an intermediary between *F* and *W* and that consequently diagram 1 is untenable.

Diagram 2 stands condemned on similar grounds. Many traits common to *F* and *C* are not found in *W* (e.g. *F* [*Merlin*] : *s'en ira la dont il estoit venu* ; *C* : *as I cam* ; *W* : *as I am.*— *F* [*Queste*] ; *qui i bout si i entre* : *C* : *who that knocketh shall enter* ; *W* : *who that knowith shall enter* ; etc.); they suffice to prove that *W* did not serve as an intermediary between *F* and *C* and that therefore our second alternative is as incorrect as the first.

The third alternative—that which makes both *C* and *W* derive from a common source—is, then, the correct one.[1] It alone agrees with our data, and it explains why in some cases *F* may go with *W* against *C*, while in others it goes with *C* against *W*. It is from *X*, their common source, that both *C* and *W* must have inherited all the passages in which each of them agrees separately with *F*.

Whether that *X* was the *Morte Darthur* as Malory wrote it or some later copy of it, we have no means of knowing. But it certainly brings us a stage nearer Malory, and our next and foremost task is to determine the best method of reconstructing it.

[1] Mr. Oakeshott in his second article (*Times Lit. Suppl.*) suggests the same conclusion but, in my opinion, fails to prove it. His remarks on Book XV are perhaps more convincing than the rest, but even here his evidence is slight. Of the passages he quotes from Caxton, Winchester, and my edition of the corresponding section of the French *Queste*, only one (ch. I) is at all significant.

2. Reconstruction of the Lost Source.

It is of course obvious that whatever is common to our two texts must be attributed to their common source, and fortunately this alone covers a large portion of the work. But what is to be done with the passages in which *C* and *W* differ? If we were to follow the traditional method we should have to decide in each case which of the two texts gives the more 'better' reading and select from both the best readings they can offer. It is in this way that most of the so-called critical editions of old texts have been produced. This method implies that any 'mistakes' found in extant versions must be attributed to the scribes; it further implies that the critic is able to decide in each case what is and what is not a mistake. It means believing in the infallibility of both the author and the critic, and moreover identifying the critic's logic with that of the author. It may be well to remember in this connection the famous case of Sancho in Part I, chapter 23, of *Don Quixote*. A bandit steals Sancho's ass and Sancho is obliged to walk behind his master. They come upon a sack containing a hundred gold pieces, and in the excitement of a new adventure Don Quixote orders Sancho to dismount and tie up his ass (*y así mandó a Sancho que se apease del asno, y atayase por la una parte de la montaña*), although in the very same chapter the ass has been stolen. This is not a scribal error; it is the author's own mistake which no editor has any right to correct. But the editors of mediaeval texts are not easily discouraged by this or any other example of inconsistency in the great works of literature. Their reluctance to abandon the 'logical' method of editing is understandable, if not excusable. It is difficult not to believe in one's own critical faculty, especially when there is no other reliable guide. Indeed, if in face of two conflicting versions the editor does not rely on his judgment for his choice of the 'correct' variant, if he does not follow his own 'logical' preference, what can he do? How is he to establish his text from two different and equally authoritative manuscripts?

Our answer is that he cannot and that he need not, unless he has further evidence. If no such evidence is available he must

limit his efforts to editing one particular version rather than concoct a composite text. He must give up all hope of reconstructing the 'lost original' and be content to reproduce what is extant. This procedure has its unpleasant side: it limits the initiative of the critic. It appeals to his modesty and fails to satisfy his intellectual pride. But it has the immense advantage of safety, and for this reason it has been adopted and preached in recent years by the greatest living mediaevalist, M. Joseph Bédier.[1] As one of his opponents has said, such a complete mistrust of our methods may do harm to textual criticism; but it may be argued that it is at least certain not to harm the texts.

If, then, our knowledge of Malory were confined to Caxton's edition and to the Winchester manuscript, we should have to refrain from reconstructing those portions of the text in which they differ. But fortunately here as in the case of the three alternative diagrams we can seek guidance from Malory's sources. It is because Malory was such a faithful imitator, sometimes a mere translator, of French romances, that his 'French books' can provide clues to most of our textual problems. Just as they have made it possible to establish the derivation of Caxton and Winchester from a common original, so they can help to decide between the two in cases of conflict. No other criterion is valid or safe. The way to reconstruct the original Malory is to add to the two existing versions of his text a third witness, and to settle every dispute between Caxton and Winchester with the help of that witness. The same will apply, of course, to the reconstruction of any other text, provided that the 'third witness' is the source of the text we are reconstructing. But the use of this method seldom proves quite as fruitful as in the case of Malory. Indeed, in practically every case of serious divergence between the two extant versions it enables us to supplement and to explain one by the other. A few representative examples will suffice to illustrate this.

The sonne, says the Winchester scribe (f. 374 r°), *shall not beare the wyckednesse of the sonne*. Caxton says instead: *the*

[1] See his Introduction to his edition of the *Lai de l'ombre* (*Société des anciens textes*, 1913) and his articles in *Romania*, April and July-October, 1928.

sonne shall not bere the wyckednes of the fader nor the fader shalle not bere the wyckednes of the sone.[1] Although the latter reading makes distinctly better sense it cannot be attributed to Malory on the sole basis of cogency: Malory may easily have made the mistake which is found in the Winchester manuscript. But it so happens that here the French source[2] fully supports Caxton and proves Winchester wrong. The scribe must have telescoped the sentence by omitting the words *of the fader nor the fader shalle not bere the wyckednes.*

A similar case of homoeoteleuton is found in the story of the discovery of Tristan's identity by the Queen of Ireland:

F (*MS. B.N. fr.* 103*f.* 43*r*°*b*)	*C* (*Sommer, p.* 290)	*W* (*f.* 158*r*°)
Et la royne si oeuvre son escrin et desvelope la piece de l'espee qui avoit esté trouvee en la teste du Morhoult, *si lui adjoint*, si y fut tout a point comme celle qui en avoit esté esgrunee a l'estendre (esteurdre ?)	And thenne she ranne with that pyece of yron to the swerde that laye upon the bedde *And whanne she putte that pyece of stele and yron unto the swerd* hit was as mete as it myghte be whan it was new broken	And than she ran wyth that pyese of iron unto the swerde hit was as mete as hit myght be as whan hit was newe brokyn

This comparison shows that the italicised words in *C* must be attributed to Malory.[3] But for the support of the French, *W* would have had an equal claim.[4]

Perhaps the most curious case of all is the description of the preparations for a tournament in Caxton's Book VI. Caxton says that for the benefit of the spectators *there were scaffoldis and holes that lordes and ladyes myghte beholde.* This has

[1] Sommer's edition, p. 661.

[2] *La Queste del Saint Graal.*

[3] But it would not warrant the inclusion in Malory's text of the words *that laye upon the bedde* in spite of the fact that they make excellent sense.

[4] Caxton and the French do not only supply what is missing in the Winchester manuscript; they often help to explain its obscurities. As a typical example we may refer to the story of Balin's fight with Garlonde which contains the following sentence (f. 30 v°): *Now geff me youre troncheon seyde Balyn that he slew youre knyght with And anone she gaff hit hym.* Who 'she' was the manuscript does not say, but Caxton (Sommer's edition, p. 93) and the French *Huth Merlin* (ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, vol. 2, p. 6) clearly state that Balin is addressing these words 'to his lady' (*a la damoisele*).

always been regarded as an absurd and corrupt line. How can the 'holes' be justified? Various explanations have been suggested. Mr. Oakeshott in his article in *The Times Literary Supplement* seems to think that he has found the correct solution in the reading of the Winchester manuscript which is *scaffoldis and towrys*. *Towrys* may *seem* at first glance to make better sense, but textual data show this to be a delusion. In the corresponding passage the French source [1] relates how stands were erected and *windows* (*fenestres*) made (presumably in the woodwork) so as to enable the spectators to watch the tournament. These 'windows' are clearly identical with the *holes* to which Caxton refers, hence they must have occurred in Malory. Caxton's 'absurd' reading is thus justified, while the seemingly 'better' version of Winchester turns out to be a corruption.

In all these instances Caxton agrees with the French against Winchester. If we now take some of the reverse cases we shall find them equally instructive. In the episode of the 'dolorous stroke' Caxton describes the sudden collapse of a castle. There were two people particularly affected by this accident: Pellam and Balin. In Caxton's words the castle 'laye upon Pellam and Balyn for three dayes'.[2] How they survived the pressure Caxton does not say. He simply adds that at the end of three days Pellam still suffered from some minor injuries while Balin recovered. This incredible story appears in most of the existing editions of the *Morte Darthur*, and the mere fact that it is preposterous is no argument against attributing it to Malory. But the Winchester manuscript, in full agreement with the French *Huth Merlin*,[3] shows us what Malory really wrote and at least acquits him of the charge of complete absurdity. It says that 'the castle brake roffe and wallis and felle downe to the erthe And Balyn felle downe and myght nat styre hande nor foote and for the moste party of that castell was dede thorow the dolorouse stroke Ryght so lay kynge Pellam and Balyne iii dayes' (f. 31 r°). In other words, Pellam and Balin were injured by the fall of the castle and lay wounded for three days.

[1] *Vulgate Versions of Arthurian Romances*, ed. Sommer, vol. 3.

[2] Sommer, p. 93.

[3] Ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich.

But the Winchester manuscript makes it clear that they did not lie buried under the ruins of the castle.

Practically any chapter in the *Morte Darthur* would provide instances of this kind,[1] but perhaps for our present purpose two more quotations will suffice. One of the best known episodes in the French Romance of Tristan is that of the fatal potion which Tristan and Iseult drank on their journey to Cornwall. It was the potion that Iseult's mother had entrusted to the care of her servants, asking them to give it to Mark and Iseult on their wedding night. The potion was so made that those who drank it would be bound by ties of ever-lasting love. By mistake Iseult drank the potion with Tristan before they reached the land of king Mark. The whole essence of the story depends on Iseult's being unaware of the virtues or even of the existence of the potion until, by a fatal error, she and Tristan have become its victims :

> Il ne m'aime pas, ne je lui,
> Fors par un herbé dont je bui
> Et il en but : ce fut pechiez.[2]
> Por ce nos a li rois chaciez.[3]

Contrary to this traditional version Caxton suggests that Iseult's mother gave the potion *to Iseult*, and the whole sequence of events from this point becomes practically unintelligible : 'Thenne the quene Isouds moder gaf to her and dame Bragwayne her doughters gentilwoman and unto Governaile a drynke and charged them that what day kynge Marke shold wedde that same daye they shold gyve hym that drynke soo that kynge Marke shold drynke to la beale Isoud'. The Winchester manuscript shows this to be a corrupt reading.[4] It says that the Queen gave Iseult a servant whose name was Brangwayne (the conjunction between *her* and *dame* in Caxton is therefore redundant) and

[1] An interesting case (quoted by Mr. Oakeshott) occurs in the story of Lancelot's visit to the hermit. '*They saw in*,' says Caxton, '*a hideous figure*.' The preposition *in* seems at first redundant and the sense is clearly unsatisfactory, but the Winchester manuscript helps to restore Malory's original reading. It states that 'they saw *the fyennd* in an hydeous fygure' which is supported by the French : *voit l'ennemy en . . . hideuse fourme*.

[2] misfortune. [3] Béroul, *Le Roman de Tristan*, ed. Muret, ll. 1413-16.

[4] *quene Isodes modir gaff dame Brangwayne unto hir to be hir jantyll woman and also she and Governayle had a drynke of the quene*.

adds in the next sentence that Brangwayne and Governaile ' had a drynke of the quene '.[1] What Caxton did was simply to turn *gaf dame Brangwayne unto her* into *gaf to her and dame Bragwayne*. He obviously failed to realise the far-reaching consequences of this alteration, and it is gratifying to know that at least in this point it was Malory's printer and not Malory himself who misinterpreted the Tristan legend.

Until the discovery of the Winchester manuscript it was, however, quite legitimate to think that the author committed another serious error. In Caxton's edition we find the statement [2] that ' syr Tristram slewe kynge Marke ', while in the French Prose Romance the reverse happens : Mark kills Tristan.[3] Some critics, including myself,[4] assumed in despair that *Tristram* was accusative—a most unsatisfactory hypothesis. The Winchester manuscript provides the real solution, and the whole difficulty now appears to be due to the omission of two words by Caxton. The manuscript reads as follows : [5] ' Sir Bellyngere revenged the dethe of hys fadir sir Alysaundir and sir Trystram *for he* slewe kynge Marke '. This means that Mark was killed by Bellingere, and the significance of the words *for he* will be readily understood by those who know that Mark had previously murdered Alexander and Tristan. By omitting the words ' *for he* ' Caxton makes Tristan kill Mark and causes Mark to be killed. Thanks to the Winchester manuscript the traditional version of Tristan's death can now be restored to Malory.

By using the two extant texts of the *Morte Darthur* in conjunction with its various sources we can find clues to the majority of controversial passages, but not to all. There still remain a number of divergences between Caxton and Winchester that cannot be solved by the method we have outlined. This happens when a variant occurs in a section for which no source has yet been found ; book VII—the Romance of Gareth—

[1] See note 4, p. 446. [2] Sommer, p. 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 792. Caxton contradicts himself : a few lines above he says that ' that traytour kyng slewe the noble Knyghte syre Trystram '.

[4] Cf. my *Roman de Tristan et Iseut*, p. 220. [5] Folio 447 recto.

is an instance in point.[1] It also happens in the passages for which the sources are available but in which all the three texts—Caxton, Winchester and the source—offer different readings.[2] In such cases the work of 'reconstruction' must naturally cease. Whenever our 'third witness'—Malory's source—is absent we must refrain from deciding which is the better of the two conflicting variants.[3] We may occasionally—and only very cautiously—attribute purely mechanical errors to the scribe or to the printer. But as a general rule we must not attempt to recapture the origina Malory when his sources are silent and the two extant versions differ; we must be content with an incomplete reconstruction. And the procedure to be adopted by any editor of the text may be formulated as follows: one of the extant versions (preferably the Winchester manuscript as the more complete of the two [4]) should be chosen as the basic text; variants from the other version should only be introduced if they are supported by Malory's sources or if they help to correct obvious mechanical errors; and wherever such variants are introduced they should be distinguished from the body of the text by the use of brackets or italics. In this way no harm will be done to the extant tradition; and at the same time a very substantial part of the original text of the *Morte Darthur* will be restored.

[1] See my article on the *Romance of Gaheret* in *Medium Aevum*, vol. 2, p. 157 ff.

[2] Variants of English spelling (except the spelling of proper names) and a number of minor variants of wording fall into this category.

[3] The following variant occurs at the beginning of Book VII: in describing a gathering of Arthur's knights at the Round Table Caxton says that they were all there *onle tho that were prisoners or slayne*. Winchester reads: *onles that ony were presoners or slain*. The Winchester reading may seem preferable but in the absence of the source we cannot definitely accept it, especially as Caxton's variant is not meaningless: 'only' can mean 'except', and Wright's Dialect Dictionary records this connotation. Another interesting divergence which cannot be solved occurs in Caxton's Book X, ch. 76. Caxton says that a knight 'satte under a fayre welle from the field' while Winchester has 'under a thorne a good way from the field'. Mr. Oakeshott (*Times Lit. Suppl.*) thinks that Caxton is wrong but there is no evidence to prove this, as the source of Book X (MS. B.N. fr. 99) to which Mr. Oakeshott does not refer, contains no parallel to the variant. All it says is . . . 'un chevalier qui du tournoiement s'estoit despartis auques navrés et si se faisoit desarmer *a une part*' (f. 483 r°b).

[4] See pp. 452-4 *infra*.

3. The New Arthurian Epic.

The reconstruction of Malory's text, however incomplete, throws light on many vital points; in particular, it reveals the character and the rhythm of Malory's prose, and it adds to our understanding of the structure and meaning of the work as a whole. It is with the latter aspect alone that I intend to deal here.

To appreciate its full significance we must again remember that the *Morte Darthur* is largely an adaptation of a much more complete Romance; and to discover the mechanism of the work it is essential to consider some characteristic features of the French Arthurian Cycle.[1] This Cycle was a narrative of amazing dimensions, containing many hundreds of episodes. It was an attempt to put together and to expand some of the twelfth-century poems about Arthur and his knights. But the fact that the adventures generally started at Arthur's Court did not prevent them from becoming completely irrelevant to the 'Arthurian' theme. The characteristic pattern of such adventures may be summarized as follows:—A knight sets off to rescue a lady in distress, and on his way meets another knight. Before they can recognize each other a fight takes place. It is usually a fairly long one, but in the end one of the knights is thrown out of his saddle. This is generally followed by a peaceful conversation: the knights introduce themselves to each other and swear never to fight again for, as they now know, they both belong to Arthur's fellowship. Then the second

[1] In a recent review of Sir Edmund Chambers's *Collected Studies* (*Medium Aevum*, vol. 3, pp. 237-240) Mr. C. S. Lewis has suggested a new interpretation of some aspects of Malory which strikes me as truly penetrating and convincing. But I do not feel with Mr. Lewis that those who see too much of Malory's sources are apt to overlook the book 'as it is in itself'. We must obviously avoid eating 'all the raw ingredients of a pudding along with the pudding itself' for 'such eating is emphatically not the pudding's proof' (p. 238), but literature is one of the few things to which the metaphor of the pudding does not apply. Knowledge of the recipe may spoil the taste of a pudding, but it need not distort our immediate impression from a literary work. It is of course possible to read Malory 'as if we knew nothing about his sources', but our understanding of him will be deepened, not spoilt, by the knowledge of what is peculiar and unique in his work. The only object of separating him from foreign ingredients is to obtain this knowledge.

knight tells the first that he has undertaken a dangerous quest of some sort and that he is at the moment looking for a mysterious knight who will not reveal his identity. They go in search of the unknown knight together, but with no result ; on their way they come across another supposed enemy who overcomes one of them and rides away. The code of Chivalry demands that he should be followed by the victim's friend and challenged again. Thus a third quest is added to the other two, only to be succeeded by a fourth and a fifth, and by this time the author seems to have forgotten what he originally intended to tell us. It is in fact difficult to believe that there was much to forget and that there ever was a *dénouement* in the writer's mind.[1] The method he uses is that of interweaving as many adventures as possible and throwing into the Romance the largest possible number of half-anonymous characters. Such a method was perhaps inevitable as long as the stories were concerned with knights-errant : the narrative technique of the Prose Romances was simply modelled on the habits of knight-erranty. Knight-erranty is chiefly characterized by the vagueness or even the absence of a final purpose. It is essentially a search of adventures each of which has an independent aim and interest. The life of a knight-errant lacks organic unity ; it consists of an endless series of strange and disconnected attempts to show one's valour, strength, bravery, and sometimes generosity. It was natural enough for the French prose-writers to build up their stories in accordance with this, and to disorganize their material in the same way as the knights-errant had disorganized their mode of living. The process was enhanced rather than hampered by the fact that the prose-writers used an Arthurian setting : Arthur's only function was to encourage adventures of all sorts, and he had early acquired what has been aptly described [2]

[1] M. Ferdinand Lot (*Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, Paris, 1918) thinks that there was a well thought-out scheme behind the seemingly disconnected incidents of the Prose *Lancelot* and deduces from this his theory of single authorship. This ' scheme ' would not account for *all* the episodes of the Cycle ; and as far as it existed at all in the author's mind he must have taken infinite pains to conceal it.

[2] E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, p. 155.

as the 'convenient habits' of always granting a boon before he knew what it was, and of declining to eat at supper until he had heard of a new adventure and had entrusted it to one of his knights.

Malory's work shows in this respect a striking peculiarity. Both extant versions of his text clearly suggest that he had a strong objection to the methods of French romance-writers. He reduced the adventures of Arthurian knights to the minimum, or at least to what he thought ought to be the minimium,[1] and simplified most of the battles and quests that he found in his sources. Compared to these, the movement was accelerated: the number of episodes was not so great and they followed one another in a more rapid succession. But it would be a mistake to think that as a result of this change Malory's version gained much coherence. His method was based on an artificial distinction between important and unimportant incidents, a distinction which was inapplicable to the mediæval romances of chivalry. In a romance of the type we have described practically each adventure was, or seemed to be, as important and at the same time as irrelevant as any other. One had just as much reason to sacrifice any particular combat or quest as to preserve it, and therefore no amount of shortening could ever make the story as a whole consistent or harmonious. A mere reduction of its size could not alter its character. It was impossible to modernize it by purely mechanical means as Malory tried to do. As a result, his work still lacked the consistency and harmony of a modern production, while it failed to preserve the fascinating profusion of detail which had been the distinguishing mark of its French sources.

But there is in Malory's work something which explains and in a sense compensates for his method of 'reducing' the story. He is primarily concerned not with the telling of adventures, but with the glorification of Knighthood as an institution. He often refers to the High Order of Knighthood

[1] He reduced them by about one half in the *Queste* and *Mort Artu* sections (Books XIII-XVIII and XX-XXI), three-quarters in the *Merlin* (Books I-IV), five-sixths in the *Tristan* (Books VIII-XII), and seven-eighths in the *Lancelot* proper (Books VI and XVIII). See my *Malory*, pp. 30-31.

counterpart of Charlemagne, and he claims by right the possession of the Roman Empire. Beside him the great Emperor Lucius is a mere impostor. Arthur is the champion of the weak and the oppressed—witness his fight with the giant who had caused so much distress to the people of Brittany. But he has some of the characteristics of the more primitive type of warrior. The Roman messengers are terrified by his 'grim countenance' and on their return advise Lucius not to venture against an enemy whose attacks no army can resist. Their misgivings are fully justified. Arthur does not stop at a wholesale massacre of the Romans and his cruelty in battle is only equalled by his enormous strength. Nor is he lacking in a special kind of epic humour. He sends to the Emperor Lucius the dead bodies of the Roman Knights 'to pay his tribute' and offers to send him more, for 'other tribute he owes him none.' The great king is thus shown in all his primitive glory: not as an 'adventurous knight,' but as a political and military leader conscious of his responsibility for the welfare and the prestige of his kingdom. The Roman campaign brings him to the highest point of power and fame, and it is significant that Malory deliberately delays the tragic ending of the story. He interrupts his account immediately after Arthur's victory. The account of Mordred's treachery and of Arthur's downfall which he had before his eyes in the source is relegated to the very end of his compilation. Malory obviously wanted to give first of all a picture of Arthur's complete triumph, free of any tragic forebodings, and between the Roman campaign and Arthur's death, which in all other versions follow one another, he interpolates the romances of Lancelot, of Tristan, and of the Grail. He obviously meant the 'Book of Arthur' as he calls it to be the culminating point of his work and not a mere prelude to the final catastrophe. This design does not appear clearly enough in Caxton. The Roman campaign is curtailed to such an extant as to seem almost out of place. But the Winchester manuscript restores both the external balance and the inner meaning of Malory's work. Arthur's career acquires the weight and the dignity of a national epic and can serve its political purpose: it is, apart from all else, a timely warning to all those who in Malory's own day had forgotten the sanctity of the royal title.

4. The Moral Issue.

The *Morte Darthur* had a moral as well as a political aim, and if Caxton did injustice to the latter, he certainly sympathized with the former. According to his Preface, the book was 'sette in enprynte to the entente that noble men may see and lerne the noble actes of chyualrye, the jentyl and vertuous dedes that somme knyghtes used in tho dayes by whyche they came to honour and how they that were vycious were punysshed and often put to shame and rebuke.' This passage is true not only of Caxton's 'intent' but also of Malory's. Malory was a moralist as much as Caxton if not more; he seldom missed an opportunity to use his story as a moral 'ensample.' But the great difficulty of his critics and biographers has always been the strange contrast between his moralizing tendency and the few known facts of his life. He has been identified with a Warwickshire knight of the name of Thomas Malory (or *Malore*, or *Mallere*, or *Malorie*) of Newbold Revel[1] who had a very eventful career. We know from reliable documents that he was imprisoned several times and that the causes of his imprisonment varied practically each time. Of all the offences of which he was convicted the most pardonable seems to have been that of sedition. He was a Lancastrian, and towards the end of his life he suffered from Yorkist revenge. Before that time he appears to have been found guilty on charges that one might mildly describe as non-political. He was implicated in several robberies one of which included the theft of various *jocalia* and *ornamenta* as well as bags of money from the Abbey of Blessed Mary of Coombe. On other occasions he is supposed to have stolen cattle from William Rowe and William Dowde of Shawell; extorted money from John Mylner, Margaret Kyng and William Hales; and broken into the house of Hugh Smyth of Monks Kirby and 'feloniously raped' his wife Joan. What has always puzzled critics is the fact that a man who was clearly not a loyalist and who had so little respect for conventional morality should have written a book which stood both for the cultivation

[1] See G. L. Kittredge, *Who Was Sir Thomas Malory?* Boston, 1897. E. Hicks, *Sir Thomas Malory, his turbulent career, a biography*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928; and my *Malory*, pp. 4-6 and 121-3.

of that morality and for the defence of the royal authority;[1] a book which was intended to serve as a moral 'ensample' to 'noble lordes and ladies,' and to reprove them for 'areysing their peple ageynst their kynge.' It is for this reason that some doubt still remained in our minds as to whether the author of the book was really identical with Thomas Malory, the Lancastrian knight and burglar, who spent so many years in prison and was excluded from a general pardon granted by Edward VI in 1468. Some indications that the book was written in prison were found, it is true, in Caxton's text: considerable importance was attached to the concluding sentence in which the author asks his readers to pray God for his 'good delyveraunce,' and to an earlier discourse on the hardships of imprisonment.[2] Both these passages were thought to reflect Malory's own experience. But that was a mere conjecture, and a definite proof of the book having been written by a prisoner was lacking. Now this proof is provided by the Winchester manuscript. At the end of the folio immediately preceding the story of Arthur's Roman campaign (see facsimile facing this page) the author bids farewell to his reader and says that the book was written by 'sir Thomas Maleorre *presoner*.' This passage does not occur in Caxton, probably because Caxton thought that it might reflect discredit on the book; and for the same reason it is difficult to believe that anyone but the author himself could have written it. It seems certain, therefore, that he was a prisoner at the time of writing; the connection between the *Morte Darthur* and the historical Thomas Malory thus receives strong support.

It is further strengthened, or at least facilitated, by the fact that the Winchester manuscript helps to some extent to explain the contrast between the author's life and his work. In a

[1] It was probably this contrast between the man and the book that induced G. L. Kittredge to deny some of the charges brought against Malory. See Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-3.

[2] G. L. Kittredge, *op. cit.* In support of this theory I conjectured (*loc. cit.*) that 'good delyveraunce' was modelled on the contemporary French legal term *plaine delivrance* and meant in Malory's time 'release from prison', although the earliest example of his use recorded in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* is two centuries later (1660).

stronge þ^t þ^e myght^ but^ selfe knyghtis stonde thym a busshette w^t
a spere And at^ þ^e next^ feste sir^ Pellead and sir^ Ector galt^
were made knyghtis of^ þ^e rounde table. for þ^e^re .v. dayis
voyde for .v. knyghtis were slayne þ^t^ wey. mon^y^. And grete
joy had kynge Arthure of sir^ Pellead and of sir^ Ayr^. gal^
te But^ Pellead loved neu^ after sir^ Gawayne But^ as^
he spared thym for þ^e^ lobe of þ^e^ kynge but^ ofte tymes^ in^
justis^ & at^ turnementis^ Sir^ Pellead quytte sir^ Gawayne
for so hit^ rehersyth^ in the booke of Frensh^. So sir^ Tris^
tramis many dayes after fought^ w^t^ sir^ Ayr^. Gaute in a^
lande And þ^t^ they did a grete batayle. But^ þ^e^ laste sir^
Tristramis slew thym. So Sir^ Tristramis was so wou^
ded þ^t^ vnnethe he myght^ recou^ and lay at^ a Priorye
half^ a yere // And sir^ Pellead was a worshypfull^
knyght^ and was one of^ þ^e^ .iij^. þ^t^ enchieved þ^e^ Sankgreal^
And þ^e^ damesel^ of^ þ^e^ lake made by her meanes^ that^ neu^
he had a do w^t^ sir^ Launcelot^ de Lake for where sir^ Launce
lot^ was at^ ony justis^ or at^ ony turnemente. she wolde
not^ suffre^ thym to be þ^t^ that^ day but^ yff hit^ were on þ^e^ syde
off Sir^ Launcelot^ here endyth^ this tale as þ^e^ Frenshe
booke seyth^ fro the maryage off kynge Arthur^ vnto kyng
Arthure that^ regned after thym & dyd many batayles
// And this booke endyth^ where as sir^ Launcelot^ And
Sir^ Tristramis com to courte. Who that^ wolde make
ony more lette thym seke oþ^r^ bookis^ off kynge Arthure
or off Sir^ Launcelot^ or Sir^ Tristramis for this^ was
drawyn by a knyght^ presoner Sir^ Thomas^ Malleorye
that^ god sende thym good recou^ dmen & cy

Explicit

FACSIMILE OF F. 70^v^ OF THE WINCHESTER MANUSCRIPT OF MALORY'S *MORTE DARTHUR*.

number of passages not reproduced by Caxton it refers to the author in clear and eloquent terms. Here are a few examples :—

F. 148r°. And I pray you all that redyth this tale to pray for hym that this wrote that God sende hym good delyveraunce sone and hastely Amen

F. 346v°. Here endyth the secunde boke off syr Trystram de Lyones whyche drawyn was oute of freynshe by sir Thomas Malleorre knyght as Jhesu be hys helpe Amen

F. 409r°. Thus endith the tale of the Sankgreal that was breffly drawn oute of freynshe which ys a tale cronycled for one of the trewyst and of the holyeste that ys in this worlde By sir Thomas Maleorre knyght O blessed Jhesu helpe hym thorow hys myght Amen

F. 449r°. And here on the othir syde folowyth the moste pyteous tale of the morte Arthure saunz Gwerdon Par le shyvalere sir Thomas Malleore knyght Jhesu ayed ely par voutre bone mercy Amen

These passages, and especially the explicit of the Grail story (f. 409), suggest that Malory regarded the writing of his book as a pious task. His argument is simple : the book is 'the truest and the holiest that is in the world' ; therefore may Jesus help the author 'through His might.' The implication is that his work might redeem his offences, moral and political. And it is not unlikely that it was written by one who regretted his own vagaries and wished his fellow-countrymen to reflect on the moral teaching of chivalry, on the glorious deeds of a great king, and on the treachery of those who had caused his downfall. 'Thys is a grete defaulte of us englyssh men for there may nothynge plese us noo terme.' There are hints throughout the *Morte Darthur* that by insisting on his new moral and political creed the author hoped to achieve better fame and expiate the sins of his early days. This is why towards the end of his life he would settle down to write a book which was essentially a glorification of ideals that he had otherwise failed to uphold ; the very contrast between these ideals and his own deeds may have inspired him to produce his 'moste pyteous tale.' And in the light of the newly discovered passages the last reference to the author in the *Morte Darthur*—the only one reproduced by Caxton—would seem to acquire a deeper significance : 'For this book was ended the ix yere of the reygne of kynge Edward the fourth by sir Thomas Maleore knyght as Jhesu helpe hym for Hys grete myght as he is the servaunt of Jhesu bothe day and nyght'

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

701. [R. 69350.] Cheshire. **Court book of the manors of Baddeley and Peover.**

Paper. Ff. 237 + i. 358 × 233 mm. xviith-xviiith cent.

*** The contents are (ff. 1-125^{v}) Baddeley, 13 Nov., 1665 to 26 Nov., 1728; (ff. 237^{v}-237) Peover, list of constables, 1644-1714; (ff. 238^{v}-178) Peover, 26 July, 1681 to 17 July, 1711, with the note (f. 178) "This was the Last Court of Sir Thomas Mainwaringe in Peover"; (ff. 126-177^{v}) blank. Stamped cloth cover, with two metal clasps. For other Mainwaring records see Fawtier, *Hand-list of the Mainwaring and Jodrell manuscripts at present in the custody of the John Rylands Library*, M.U.P., 1923.

702. [R. 68999.] Theology. **Theological miscellany.**

Paper. Ff. 176. 187 × 145 mm. xvith-xviith cent.

*** Several leaves evidently lost at beginning. In several hands. The contents include: (ff. 1-30) copies of various prayers in English and Latin, *e.g.* on f. 14 is *Hymnus officium beatae Mariae ad vesperas* with a marginal note, "This to Mr. Creatcheleye at Beauerley," and on f. 15 is a marginal note, "This prayer taken out of the Englishe and Latyne Prymer or Office of our Ladye, printed at Antwerp by Arnold Connings anno 1599"; (ff. 31-40^{v}, 53-55^{v}) a treatise, in Latin, with preface "Inter omnia pietatis verae exercitia . . ." and meditations for the days of the week; (ff. 41-51) a treatise, in English, begins "I John 4, 1.2.3. the bishopps and preecheres . . ." with "T.C." in margin; (f. 56) *Aetates et loca quorundam veterum doctorum*; (ff. 57-76^{v}) a treatise, in English, ends "farewell in him whom we are to followe the 30 of July, anno 1580," and refers to *The surveye of poperie* (? by Thomas Bell); (f. 77^{v}) "Out of the playne mans patheway" (? by Arthur Dent); (ff. 82^{v}-88^{v}, 102-06) a treatise, in English, and on f. 83^{v} is the marginal note, "The author's opinion concerning the necessitie and excellencie of devout and holye preacchinge ys to bee readd in a Sermon preacched att Paules Crosse 1598, Maii 21, and printed att London page 43"; (ff. 89-91^{v}) part of a treatise, in English, with marginal note "de sermone domini in monte, li: i, impress. Basill. 1548"; (ff. 92-95) prayers, in English and Latin; (ff. 95-98^{v}, 152-155^{v}, 149, 157-166) a treatise in English, begins

" Amongst all exercises spirittualle . . . " ; (ff. 99-101) a letter, begins " Sir the Paper sent in your kynde letter unto mee by my brother Jorden I had returned with aunswere . . . " ; (ff. 106^{v}-111) a treatise, in English, begins " The scriptures which teach justification by workes . . ." ; (ff. 112^{v}-115^{v}) " A conference att the fleete Anno dni 1584, Novemb^{r}, Cartewright his obiection " ; (ff. 115^{v}-116) " The exposition of Anomia . . . ," with " Rhem. Testam. I Joh. 3. 4 " in margin ; (ff. 116-125, 127-130, 131-137, 140^{v}, 148, 156) " Papisticall positions," etc. ; (ff. 125^{b}-127) " Reasons for peace. Considerations touching the peace now in speech " ; (ff. 137^{v}-140^{v}) " The examination of prayer made to our Ladye. The morall actions of men . . . " ; (ff. 141-147^{v}, 156^{v}, 150-151^{v}) " Catholicone preface, by Andrewe Wyllet, 1602 " (abbreviated) ; (ff. 171^{v}-173) " The proffessione of the orthodoxe ffaith delyvered out accordinge to the decree of the Counsell of Trente." As is evident above different parts of a work are contained in different parts of the volume, due occasionally to faulty binding but more frequently to the practices of the scribes. Some of the works are obviously much abbreviated.

703. [R. 71049.] George Heywood. **Pedigree and diary, 1788-1843.**

Paper. Ff. 113 (+ many blank). 242 × 190 mm. xixth cent.

*** The contents are (f. 1) accounts ; (f. 6^{v}) Journal ; (f. 111^{v}) " The Heywoods of Huddersfield and Manchester."

704. [R. 70978.] Lancashire. **A Survey of all the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the County of Lancaster, late belonging to Edward Chetham of Castleton, Esq., deceased. Taken in the year, 1770.**

Paper. Ff. 36 + vi. 386 × 247 mm. 1770.

*** This concerns property and tenants in Salford, Pendlebury, Broughton, Kersall, Chetham, Crumsal, Spotland, Newton, Droylsden, Failsworth, Manchester, Turton and Moston. There is the following note (f. 35^{v}) " The Estimate of the within Estates made in the year 1770 and compleated on the 15th Day of September by us—R. Lang, John Taylor, Thomas Smedley."

705. [R. 54275.] W. Frederick Connor. **Diary from July, 1886, to Sept., 1887, etc.**

Ff. 27 (+ various papers). 254 × 190 mm. 1887-88.

*** A notebook. The diary, which relates experiences in Palestine, covers from 1 July, 1886, to 18 Sept., 1887. The entries after 3 Sept., 1886, are few, on 4 pages. On several of the blank pages at the end are pasted the following items : (*a*) *Journal of Trip to H(usu)*, 26-29 Nov., 1887, 6 pp. ; (*b*) Agreement between Mrs. Shakoor and the Church Missionary Society concerning the British Mission in Cairo, 17 Feb., 1889, 3 pp. ; (*c*) Journal of journey from Jerusalem to Medebah and Kerak, 2-10 Feb., n.y., 16 pp. ; (*d*) notes, as part of (*b*), 2 pp ; (*e*) Agreement, as (*b*), by Mrs. Shakoor, 1 p.

705a. [R. 54275.] W. Frederick Connor. **Letter book.**

*** A letter-book containing copies (impressed and occasionally indistinct) of letters and papers, (*a*) Lord Russell to Foreign Office, with despatch of Ali Pacha, 21 Jan., 1866; (*b*) "Turkish law in connection with the educational question in Syria"; (*c*) a letter to Mr. Eyers (H.M. Consul, Beyrout) from (W. F. Connor ?), April, 1887, 14 pp.; (*d*) to Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, signed "Said" 24 Feb., 1887, 4 pp.; (*e*) to Eyers from W. F. C., 20 April, 1887; (*f*) from the Catechist at Husu, 12 April, 1887, 4 pp.; (*g*) "To the Representatives of the Moslem Council of the village (—— ?) in the localities of Jerusalem"; (*h*) to Noel Temple Moor (H.M. Consul, Jerusalem) from W. F. C., 21 Sept., 1887; (*i*) 2 letters to W. F. C. from Medebah; and (*j*) W. F. C. to John Dickson (H.M. Consul, Damascus). Given by Mrs. H. Connor, Chulmleigh.

706. [R. 54275.] Rev. John Rushton, Archdeacon of Manchester. **Notes on churches in Lancashire and Cheshire, etc.**

11 notebooks. Various sizes. xixth cent.

*** The contents of the books may be briefly indicated. I. Notes on dissent in Lancashire, concerning churches and chapels of Papists, Unitarians, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Quakers, Methodists, etc.; some paper cuttings; miscellaneous notes; ff. 64 (remainder blank). II. Ecclesiastical Commission papers, printed, with MS. notes; miscellaneous notes; copies of letters, etc. III. Statutes relating to ecclesiastical institutions, printed, with MS. notes, lists of dissenting chapels, etc. IV. as III. V. Licensed chapels, tithes commuted under 6-7 Will. 4, c. 71, Queen Anne's Bounty, printed and MS. VI. Lancashire churches, population, etc., MS. lists. VII. Lancashire and Cheshire churches, MS. lists. VIII.-XI. Interleaved portions of F. R. Raine's *Notitia Cestriensis* (Chetham Soc. Pub.), with MS. notes on churches in Lancashire, consecrations and rebuildings, etc., etc. Given by Mrs. H. Connor, Chulmleigh.

707. [R. 20517.] Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. **Letters.**

21 items. Various sizes. 1813-43.

*** In one volume. No. 1 is to A. A. Renouard, Nos. 2, 4 and 5 to R. Triphook, bookseller; Nos. 6-7 to Francis Nugee, tailor; Nos. 8-9 to James Baker; No. 10 to Gossling and Egley, booksellers; No. 11 to Dawson Turner; No. 12 to R. H. Jackson; No. 13 to Lilly, bookseller; No. 15 to Joseph Langdon; No. 16 to Mons. Dinaux; No. 17 to Mons. Baron; No. 18 to Mons. Delepierre; No. 19 to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries; No. 20 to R. Ackermann, bookseller, and No. 21 to — Masters. No. 3 has no address and No. 14 is a notice. Two engravings of Dibdin are enclosed.

708. [R. 71523.] Stockport. **Stockport Parish Registers, 1620-1680.**

Paper. 226 × 180 mm. *et circa*. *c.* 1897.

(i) Ff. 120. April, 1620-Oct., 1632.
(ii) Ff. 125. Nov., 1632-Nov.,1640.
(iii) Ff. 125. Dec., 1640-Mar., 1653.
(iv) Ff. 158. April, 1653-May, 1665.
(v) Ff. 162. June, 1665-May, 1680.

*** In five notebooks. Each of the first four books is described as "First Copy," and No. I has the note: "Copied by W. I. Wild, F.R.Hist.S., and Walter Needham. With historical and genealogical additions and notes." MSS. 708-10 were given by J. H. Wild. See E. W. Bulkeley's *Stockport Parish Registers, 1584-1620. With Notes.* Mr. Wild began to publish the continuation in *Cheshire Notes and Queries*, 1897, pp. 31, 75, 179, and covered the period from January, 1619/20 to August, 1627.

709. [R. 71524.] STOCKPORT. **Stockport Parish Registers, 1628-1680.**

Paper. 229 × 170 mm. *et circa.* c. 1897.

(i) Ff. 122-245. March, 1628-July, 1635.
(ii) Ff. 246-332. July, 1635-Jan., 1639/40.
(iii) Ff. 333-421. Feb., 1639/40-Dec., 1645.
(iv) Ff. 422-491. Jan., 1645/6-Mar., 1653.
(v) Ff. 492-653. Apr., 1653-Apr., 1666.
(vi) Ff. 654-812. Apr., 1666-July, 1680.

*** In six notebooks. One other book, foliated 1-121, is missing. Each book is described as "Press copy. With notes." See MS. 708, here recopied by W. I. Wild.

710. [R. 71525.] STOCKPORT. **Registers of Mount Tabor Chapel, 1793-1832.**

Paper. (i-ii) 230 × 180 mm., (iii) 230 × 177 mm. c. 1900.

(i) Ff. 157 + i. July, 1793-Jan., 1810.
(ii) Ff. 96 (+ many blank). Nov., 1798-Jan., 1832.
(iii) Ff. 115. Feb., 1810-Dec., 1822.

*** In three notebooks. No. I. contains "Baptisms"; No. II. "Burials"; and No. III. "Baptisms." Transcripts only.

711. [R. 73812.] WILLIAM FARRER, Litt.D. **Honors and knights' fees, etc.**

Paper. Ff. (i) 121, (ii) 106, (iii) 56, (iv) 124, (v) 109, (vi) 36, (vii) 71, (viii) 87, (ix) 84, (x) 142, (xi) 36, (xii) 48. Various sizes. xxth cent.

*** In twelve notebooks, containing also many blank pages, not included above, and many loose notes inserted between the pages. The contents of eleven books concern (i) Wahull, Chokes, Bidun, Visdelou and Chester; (ii) Chester, Curcy and Spalding priory charters (from B.M. Add. MS. 5844); (iii) Peverel of Nottingham, Huntingdon, Eudes the sewer, Giffard and Bolebec; (iv) Arsic and Warenne; (v) Wallingford; (vi) various southern

counties ; (vii) the abbey of St. Edmund, etc. ; (viii) Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, etc. ; (ix) various counties ; (x) De Lacy family, etc. ; and (xi) various genealogical notes, etc. The material of these notebooks was evidently gathered in preparing Farrer's *Honors and knights' fees*, vols. I, II, London, 1923-4, vol. III, M.U.P., 1925. The other notebook (xii) has on the flyleaf " MS. penes O. and J. Folds, Burnley," and contains transcripts of documents concerning the Lord Lieutenancy of Lancashire and Cheshire and the raising of train-bands between 1585 and 1589. Given by Mrs. Petrie.

712. [R. 73812.] WILLIAM FARRER, Litt.D. **Honors and knights' fees.**

*** A box containing material relating to the honour of Gloucester, arranged in 127 sections, evidently prepared for a continuation of *Honors and knights' fees*. Given by Mrs. Petrie.

713. [R. 73812.] WILLIAM FARRER, Litt.D. **Honors and knights' fees.**

*** A box containing materials relating to the honours of Abingdon, Bolebec and Giffard, arranged in 36, 12 and 98 sections respectively, evidently prepared for a continuation of *Honors and knights' fees*. Given by Mrs. Petrie.

714. [R. 73812.] WILLIAM FARRER, Litt.D. **Honors and knights' fees.**

*** A box containing materials relating to the honours of Limesey, Oilli, Pinkeny, Wallingford and Old Wardon, arranged in 25, 36, 16, 63 and 11 sections respectively, evidently prepared for a continuation of *Honors and knights' fees*. Given by Mrs. Petrie.

715. [R. 73812.] WILLIAM FARRER, Litt.D. **Letters, notes, etc.**

*** A packet of 86 letters, chiefly to Farrer and concerning his work. There are also three boxes of very miscellaneous material, notes and transcripts, made by or for Farrer. Given by Mrs. Petrie.

716. [R. 71253.] GENEALOGY. **Extracts and Notices concerning various Families and Places in Cheshire and the neighbouring Counties.**

Paper. Ff. 91 + i. 274 × 218 mm. c. 1799.

*** Many references indicate the sources such as (f. 1) *Extracts from a Folio Manuscript belonging to the Manwarings of Peovre, and which is entitled, Copies of several Records and Deeds*, etc. ; (ff. 12, etc.) " from Sir Peter Leicester's Genealogies M.M.S." ; (f. 90^{v}) " from Watson Memoirs," etc. Emblazoned coats of arms. On the flyleaf is written " John Thomas Stanley, Alderley Park, 1799." Old No., **12.**

717. [R. 71253.] GENEALOGY. **Pedigrees and coats of arms of prominent families in Cheshire and Lancashire, etc.**

Ff. 140 (pp. 1-280). 270 × 210 mm. Early xixth cent.

*** The contents include: (p. 26) notes on the tenure of Nether Alderley; (p. 32) the descent of the Earls of Chester; (pp. 78-183) an account of Sir William Stanley, kt., "of the Holt Castle in Denbighshire" (+ 1495); grant of £5 p.a. "by S[r] Peter Warberton to Butler's free school at Warrington, 1612"; copies of various inquisitions "post mortem"; (p. 277) contents, index, etc. Emblazoned coats of arms. Old No., 66.

718. [R. 71253.] GENEALOGY. **Genealogies, Anecdotes and Notices of Families in the Hundred of Macclesfield in the County of Chester.**

Ff. 81 + xi. 284 × 235 mm. Early xixth century.

*** An index to the pedigrees is given on f. ii[v]. Emblazoned coats of arms. On f. ii is written "John Thomas Stanley, Alderley Park, 1805."

719. [R. 71253.] GENEALOGY. **Cheshire genealogies.**

Ff. 86 + vi. 287 × 233 mm. Early xixth cent.

*** On f. 2 is the following heading "Extracts from the Book of Cheshire Pedigrees at Tabley written by Sir Peter Leycester A.D. 1666. The book was transcribed by Sir Peter out of Mr. John Boothe of Twamlowes Book, but several of the Pedigrees were rectified by Sir Peter and to such he subscribed his name as being *exactly true*, the rest are declared by him to be more dubious. The following is a Catalogue of the Pedigrees which were by him drawn, altered or amended." P. 163 is headed "Descent of Owen of Penrhos communicated by S. W. Pritchard, 1815." There is (f. ii) an index to the present transcript and also (pp. 167-71) a table of the pedigrees "in Sir Peter Leycester's Book." Old No., 8.

720. [R. 71253.] GENEALOGY. **Arms of Cheshire families.**

Ff. 91 (including blank) + i. 274 × 220 mm. *c.* 1800.

*** On f. 45 is the heading "Arms of Cheshire Families not included in foregoing List from the Collection of John Watson, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Stockport, 1781. The Original is in the Adlington Library." Another heading (f. 63) is "Arms from Leigh's Lancashire." At the beginning (f. 1) is an "Index to the Arms." Emblazoned coats of arms. On the flyleaf is written "Alderley."

721. [R. 71256.] LETTERS. **Miscellaneous letters.**

20 items. Various sizes. 1782-1814.

*** Letters in a cover. They include letters from the Hon. Maria Josepha Stanley, née Holroyd, one to her mother, others to Mrs. Firth, Doncaster (11); letters to the Hon. Mrs. Stanley, from Serena Holroyd (6), Sir W. Clinton, Lady Clinton (imperfect), and Ann, Lady Sheffield; an "abstract of the Will of Lady Willis," etc.

722. [R. 71255.] JOHN THOMAS STANLEY. **Extracts from Journals and Recollections.**

Paper. Pp. 1-229 (+ many blank). 281 × 229 mm. c. 1813, etc.

*** Stanley was created 1st Baron of Alderley in 1839. A note on the flyleaf dates the book "about 1813," but it was evidently written at different periods, a late additional note (p. 49) being dated 1847. Pocket journals (p. 27) were included among the material used, and a number of spaces left for additional matter have not been filled. The contents include early school recollections, travels abroad in Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Sicily, etc., from 1781 onwards, pen and ink drawings of scenes in Italy and Sicily, reflections upon various writings of Rousseau, etc. Old No., **21**.

723. [R. 71428.] MARY CHADWICK. **Rural and other poems.**

Ff. 90 + ii. 225 × 184 mm. 1827.

*** On f. ii is written, "Manuscript Poems. To D^r^ Chadwick, the author dedicates her rural and other Poems, a slight, but sincere tribute of maternal affection. Ludlow, Dec^r^ 31, 1827." On f. 11^v^ is written, "This Manuscript and the copyright are presented to my son Adam Chadwick, M.D.—Mary Chadwick." See *Rural and other poems*, London [Ludlow printed], 1828.

724. [R. 73631.] JOHN WALSH, F.R.S. **Journey to France, 1772.**

Ff. 94 (+ 91 blank) + iii. 196 × 155 mm. Late xviiith cent.

*** Written usually on one side of the page only. To f. ii is attached a list described as *List of Visites à Paris*, 1772, giving names and addresses. The journal covers the periods 8-26 June (ff. 1-56), 27-28 July (ff. 57-61), 4 August (ff. 68-9), and 13-17 August, 1772 (ff. 79-108). It was evidently intended to fill in the blanks between the periods. The journal was probably copied up from diaries, see f. 56^v^ with the note, "See the Diary of Transactions at La Rochelle & L'Isle de Ré. From June 26th to July 27th." The many places visited include Boulogne, Paris, Orléans, Blois, Amboise, Tours, Les Ormes St. Martin, Poitiers, La Rochelle, Chantonnai, Angers, La Flêche, Le Mans, Val-Dieu, La Trappe and La Ferté. There is a copy of a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated 21 June, 1772 (ff. 26^v^, 27), and *Memorandums concerning the Torpedo made in the Journey from Paris to La Rochelle* (ff. 53^v^-55^v^). Bookplate of Lord Ormathwaite.

725. [R. 23170.] CHARLES DICKENS. **Letters, manuscripts, etc.**

*** Letters and manuscripts are inserted in an extra-illustrated copy of John Forster's *The Life of Charles Dickens*, second edition, London, 1872, three volumes, enlarged to thirteen volumes in 1874. The copy was briefly described in *The World* on 10 July, 1878, and was then in the bookshop of Francis Harvey, No. 4 St. James's Street. See also Tyson, *A review and other writings by Charles Dickens*, M.U.P., 1934. The volumes contain the following manuscripts :

(i) Thirty-five letters from Dickens to John Pritt Harley, George Hogarth, Frederick Dickens and others between 1836 and 1861.

(ii) A number of letters from various people to Mrs. Dickens and Miss Helen Hogarth and a miscellaneous collection of autograph letters and portraits of many persons mentioned in Forster's work.

(iii) A manuscript shorthand book in the hand of Charles Dickens. Ff. 12, 225 × 186 mm. In vol. i.

(iv) MS. of a review, in the hand of Dickens, of *A letter to Lord Ashley, M.P., on the Mines and Collieries Bill*, by C. W. Vane, Marquess of Londonderry. Ff. 8, 225 × 187 mm. In vol. i.

(v) MS., in his own hand, of the speech by Dickens at the Royal Academy dinner, on 30 April, 1870. Two large sheets have been cut into four. In vol. xii.

(vi) MS., in the hand of Albert Richard Smith, headed *The Boy and the Mantle. A Theft from the Percy Reliques.* Ff. 12, 249 × 199 mm. In vol. vi.

726-34. [R. 73813-8.] The Gaskell Collection.

*** This group of manuscripts was given to the Library by the executors of the late Miss M. E. Gaskell.

726. [R. 73813.] Gaskell Collection. **A child's dream of a star. By Charles Dickens.**

Ff. 6. Various sizes. 1850.

*** In one volume. A much-corrected manuscript in the hand of Dickens. His autograph is on f. 1, otherwise blank. The work was printed in *Household Words* in 1850.

727. [R. 73814.] Gaskell Collection. **Letters of Walter Savage Landor, etc.**

5 items. Various sizes. 1854, 1858, etc.

*** In one volume. Nos. 1 and 2 are letters to Mrs. Gaskell, No. 3 to the Rev. W. Gaskell, No. 4 is a MS. poem "To the author of *Mary Barton*," and No. 5 is the corrected page proofs of part (pp. 145-60) of *Giovanna of Naples*, published with *Andrea of Hungary* in 1839. See also Ross D. Waller, *Letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell by celebrated contemporaries*, M.U.P., 1935.

728. [R. 73815.] Gaskell Collection. **Letters of William Makepeace Thackeray, etc.**

3 items. Various sizes. n.d.

*** In one volume No. 1. is a letter to Mrs. Procter, No. 2 a note to Mrs. James and No. 3 the MS. preface, much corrected and signed "M. A. Titmarsh, Kensington, December 15," of *Rebecca and Rowena, or Romance upon Romance*, which was printed in 1850. There is a pen and ink sketch of the author, in bed.

729. [R. 73816.] GASKELL COLLECTION. **Letters from Charles Dickens to Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell, etc.**

30 items. Various sizes. 1850-62.

*** In one volume. All the letters are to Mrs. Gaskell, except Nos. 14, 18 and 30, which are to the Rev. William Gaskell. No. 26 was not written by Dickens, but by W. H. Wills, from the office of *Household Words*. In No. 3, the signature is cut away. See also Tyson, *A review and other writings by Charles Dickens*, M.U.P., 1934, pp. 18-19.

730-1. [R. 73817.] GASKELL COLLECTION. **Letters to Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell and the Rev. William Gaskell, etc.**

I. [730.] 1-58. A-K. Various sizes. *c.* 1847-68.
II. [731.] 59-113. L-W. Various sizes. *c.* 1840-67.

*** In two volumes, alphabetically arranged. Many of the letters are printed in Waller's *Letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell by celebrated contemporaries*, M.U.P., 1935.

732-4. [R. 73818.] GASKELL COLLECTION. **Miscellaneous letters, etc.**

I. [732.] 1-71. A-Ha. Various sizes. Late xviiith-xixth cent.
II. [733.] 72-141. He-Rom. Various sizes. Late xviiith-xixth cent.
III. [734.] 142-183. Rou-Y. Various sizes. Late xviiith-xixth cent.
184-208. In French and German. Various sizes.

*** In three volumes. Evidently an autograph collection made by Mrs. Gaskell. Small groups of letters are addressed to Sir Benjamin Brodie, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, W. J. Fox, Madame Mary Mohl, and others. Many nineteenth century celebrities, writers and politicians, are represented, including Richard Bentley, Robert Browning, William C. Bryant, William E. Channing, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Maria Edgeworth, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Ewart Gladstone, Nathaniel Hawthorne (3), Charles Lamb, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Mazzini, Dr. Joseph Priestley, Samuel Rogers (2), Sir Walter Scott (2), Robert Southey, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Daniel Webster, Merimée, and Georges Sand. See also Waller, *op. cit.*

735. [R. 72649.] LIBRARY CATALOGUE. **Catalogue of the Towneley Library.**

Paper. Ff. 41. 376 × 240 mm., etc. Early xviiith cent.

*** On the inside of the front cover is written *An Alphabetical Catalogue of the Books in the Library at Towneley*. Former owner: The Countess of Abingdon.

736. [R. 72650.] LANCASHIRE CATHOLICS. **Contributions collected for the Queen's use in 1639.**

Paper. Ff. 24 + ii. 144 × 90 mm. 1639.

*** Ff. 4, 7, 9, 15-18, 20 and 24 are blank. A record of the receipts of various collectors in Lancashire, see No. 737. Former owner: The Countess of Abingdon.

737. [R. 72651.] LANCASHIRE CATHOLICS. **Letters and papers.**

74 items. Various sizes. 1639, etc.

*** In one volume. In 1639 the Queen induced Sir Kenelm Digby to appeal to the Catholics for contributions " towards defraying of his Ma^ties^ most chargeable journey with his army at this present gone into the northern parts of his Realm." Most of the papers deal with the collectors and collections in Lancashire. The former were Sir William Gerard, Roger Bradshaigh, Robert Molyneux, Sir Cecil Trafford, and Charles Towneley, and these papers were probably in Towneley's possession. There are letters, chiefly to Towneley, from Bradshaigh, Antony Champeneys (4), A. C. and others, George Gage (3), Sir William Gerard (5), W. G. and others (2 and three copies), Radcliffe Houghton, R. Molyneux, Richard Osbaldeston, John Redman (5), James Sandes and Bernard Towneley. There are five letters, probably copies, from Charles Towneley, and a receipt from Digby and Basil Brooke to Towneley for £312 9s. 2d. Several later papers concern the Towneley family. Former owner: The Countess of Abingdon.

738. [R. 72652.] THEOLOGY. **A brief treatise of man's justification.**

Paper. Ff. 34. 305 × 195 mm. *c.* late xviith cent.

*** There are the following divisions: (f. 1) " The preface to the Reader. As all scripture inspired by God . . . "; (f. 3) " A Brieffe treatye of mans Iustification. What is mente by the word . . . "; and (f. 21) " The seconde booke declaringe the second danger. How dangerous it ys for a man to presume onelye upon gods mercy. . . ". Former owner: The Countess of Abingdon.

739. [R. 72653.] SIR ALEXANDER COLEPEPER. **Account of troubles undergone for the Catholic religion.**

Paper. Ff. 28. 326 × 200 mm. Late xixth cent.

*** A transcript of part of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Tanner MS. 118, ff. 128-135) described as " a note of all such troubles as I sir Alexander Colepeper of Bedgeburie had for the catholic religion since the second year of queen Elizabeth," with the names of knights and gentlemen committed to prison for recusancy in 1588, 1590, 1592 and 1593/4. Former owner: The Countess of Abingdon.

740. [R. 71338, etc.] LETTERS. **Miscellaneous letters.**

20 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

*** In a box, from various sources. No. 1 is a letter from Count Leo Tolstoy to G. T. Sadler, 16 Dec., 1898; Nos. 4-16 [R. 46804] are letters from or concerning Dr. Arthur Coke Burnell, the Sanscrit scholar.

741. [R. 63635.] ANTI-SLAVERY. **Letters to Mary Anne Rawson, Henry Joseph Wilson, M.P., and others.**

134 items. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

*** In a box. Many of these letters were to Mrs. M. A. Rawson (née Read), Wincobank Hall, Sheffield, the compiler of *The Bow in the Cloud* (see Nos. 414-15); see N. B. Lewis, *The abolitionist movement in Sheffield, 1823-1833: with letters from Southey, Wordsworth and others*, M.U.P., 1934. Given by A. C. Wilson.

742. [R. 63635.] ANTI-SLAVERY. **Letters and papers.**

82 items. Various sizes. xixth cent.

*** In a box. The contents include correspondence relating to *The Bow in the Cloud*, letters, rough notes, drafts of minutes concerning the activities of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society, etc. See No. 741. Given by A. C. Wilson.

743. [R. 63635.] ANTI-SLAVERY. **Minute book of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society.**

Ff. 83 (+ 41 blank) + ii. 202 × 164 mm. 1825-33.

*** On f. ii is inscribed: *Auxiliary Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves Instituted at Sheffield 21st of 6th mo. 1825.* See No. 741. Given by A. C. Wilson.

744. [R. 63635.] ANTI-SLAVERY. **Miscellaneous poems.**

Ff. 13 (+ many blank). 250 × 197 mm. *c.* 1830.

*** A few poems on slavery copied from several sources, manuscript and printed. Given by A. C. Wilson.

745. [R. 72934.] REV. JOHN WATSON. **Memoirs of the family of Bradshaw of Marple in Cheshire; an account of the ancient barons of Stockport; etc.**

Paper. Ff. 103 (+ 5 blank) + i. 253 × 202 mm., 230 × 185 mm. (from f. 61). *c.* 1800.

*** The volume contains: (i) *Memoirs of John Bradshaw*, ff. 1-10, with some additional notes by Hugh H. L. Bellot, see also Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales* (1801), vol. ii, pp. 264-8; (ii) an account of Henry Bradshaw, the regicide's brother, with copies of letters, ff. 10v-27, see Bodleian MS. 25573 (among the Watson MSS.) and Helsby's edition of Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (1882), vol. iii, pp. 844-7; (iii) *Copy of the order under which the Earl of Derby was tried at Chester*, f. 27; (iv) copy of a letter from John Bradshaw to Mr. Rushworth, Secretary to the Army, 30 Aug., 1647, ff. 28-29; (v) Pedigree of Dukenfield of Dukenfield, par. Stockport, ff. 31-37; (vi) copies of notes by [William] Davenport of Bramhall, 1 Jan., 1643-25 Aug., 1645, ff. 38-41; (vii) account of Bramhall, ff. 41-44; (viii) account of Marple Hall, with copies of letters by John Bradshaw, ff. 45v-48v, written by Hugh H. L. Bellot; (ix) *The Names of the Gent. & Freeholders in Cheshire with the number of Men which each of them*

were able to make for the service of King Henry the 8th, ff. 53-54; (x) *The Names of Gent. and Freeholders in Cheshire not appointed to be in readiness to serve K. Henry 8th*, ff. 54-55; (xi) *The Sheriffs of Cheshire* (to Charles I.), ff. 57v-58v; (xii) *An account of the ancient Barons of Stockport, taken from the late reverend John Watson's Memoirs of the ancient Earls of Warren and Surry, printed in 1779*, ff. 62-86 (*o.n.* pp. 1-49); (xiii) *A View and Account which states and sets forth the Original & beginning of the Barony of Stockport, together with the original and Continuation of the Office of Mayor there, and the authority, power and trust of the said Mayor in his Office within the said Town and Barony*, ff. 87-89 (*o.n.* pp. 51-55); (xiv) *An Account of the Foundation of the Free School of Stockport taken from Papers in the possession of Mr. Clarkson*, ff. 89v-90 (*o.n.* pp. 56-57); (xv) extracts "from the MS. intitled Baronagium Cestriae," concerning the arms of the families of Venables, Aston and Leigh, ff. 90-93 (*o.n.* pp. 57-63); (xvi) grant of a crest to Lawrence Swettenham of Somerford, ff. 92b-93 (*o.n.* pp. 62-3); (xvii) *Copy of a Petition from the High Sheriff, Justices of the Peace, &c., of Cheshire*, ff. 93, 102 (*o.n.* pp. 63-65); (xviii) copy, with translation, of the charter of foundation of the abbey of Newbo, co. Linc., by Richard Malebyse, 19 Hen. III, ff. 95v-96; (xix) copy, with translation, of the King's Commission of Array for the North Riding of Yorkshire to Wm. Malebys, John de Colevill and Ankeline Salvayn, 25 Mar., 1284, ff. 96v-98; (xx) copy, with translation, of a grant by John Malbys to St. Mary's Abbey, York, ff. 98v-99; (xxi) *A charter of Hugh Malbyse*, copy, with translation, ff. 99v-100; (xxii) copy, with translation, of a quit-claim concerning Nicholas de Cantelou, from "among the Deeds of the Earl of Rutland at Beavoir Castle in Sir Christ' Hatton's Book of Seal," 28 Edw. III, ff. 99v-100; (xxiii) copy, with translation, of a deed of security from Sir William Malebysse, kt., to the abbot and convent of Whitby, concerning the chapel at Atton parva, ff. 100v-101; (xxiv) notes on the foundation of Spin(n)ey priory, co. Camb., and on the Malebiche family, ff. 100v-101v; (xxv) *Copy of a Grant of Arms to Richard Blackwall, 9 Hen. 7th*, ff. 102-103v (*o.n.* pp. 65-68). The few additions by Hugh H. L. Bellot are recent (xxth cent.), but the MS. as a whole is clearly an early copy. Watson died in 1783. The volume is described on f. 1v as "Watson MS. 16. MS. Top. Cheshire E. 7." Bookplate of Holland Watson of Stockport, Major Commandant of the Stockport Volunteers. Former owners: *R*(obert) *W. Killer*, Manchester surgeon, *1829*; [Mrs. W. H. Bellot, née Killer, niece of Mrs. R. W. Killer, née Watson]; [Hugh H. L. Bellot]. Given by Professor H. Hale Bellot. With this manuscript is also:

745a. An introductory note by Hugh H. L. Bellot to a projected edition of the "Memoirs" and other Bradshaw papers, ff. 17.

746. [R. 72936.] Hugh H. L. Bellot, M.A., D.C.L. **John Bradshawe, regicide.**

Ff. 439. 239 × 189 mm. Early xxth cent.

*** Unbound sheets, in a box. The description of f. 1 is "*John Bradshawe, Regicide*. By Hugh H. L. Bellot, M.A., D.C.L., of Trinity College, Oxford, & of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. With Illustrations." Given by Professor H. Hale Bellot.

747. [R. 72973.] Cheshire. Miscellaneous letters and papers.

71 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

*** In a box. Mainly of Cheshire interest, and consisting of various groups concerning Sir Willoughby Aston, Bt., and other members of the family of Aston of Aston; the establishment of Boards of Health in various Cheshire towns, in 1831-32, as a result of a cholera epidemic, etc. Former owner: R. H. Linaker.

748. [R. 26201.] Allan Ramsay. Songs.

Ff. 2. *c.* 300 × 200 mm. Early xviiith cent.

*** Bound up with an extra-illustrated copy of Ramsay's *The gentle shepherd* (Glasgow, 1788), etc. The MS., which has many alterations, contains the following, with the numbers as given: (*a*) *Air 11 Oer Bogey. Well I agree . . .*; (*b*) *Song 12 Wat ye wha I met yestreen. But from Rusticity . . .*; (*c*) *Tunne 14* (from 12) *Kirk wad let me be. Duty and part . . .*; (*d*) *14 song Waes my heart. Speak on . . .*; (*e*) *Song 15th Tweed Side. When hopes wer all sunk . . .*; (*f*) *Song 16 Bush aboon Traquair. At seting day . . .*; (*g*) *Air 8th Happy Clown. Hid from himself . . .*; (*h*) *41 Air 9th Auld Lang Syne* (heading only); (i) *47 Air 10th Hap me with thy Peticoat. Wer I assurd you'll constant prove, . . .*

749. [R. 75301.] Rev. John Wesley.. A collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists.

Paper. Ff. 249 (pp. 1-498) + vi. 187 × 108 mm. Early xixth cent.

*** This is a manuscript copy of a printed book. The copied title-page (f. v) is as follows: *A collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists. By the Rev. John Wesley, A.(M.), Late Fellow of Linclon* (*sic*) *College, Oxf(ord). The Twentieth Edition* [1808]. Former owners: (f. vi) *W^m. Ellis, Prisonnier de guerre. Anglais Depo^t Longwy. Dep^t. Mozelle, France, 1813*; extract from an inserted letter from W. C. Ellis to Mr. Garratt, dated 8 April, 1895, "My father was a Captain in the Merchant Navy, his ship was captured by a French Man of War during the time of the first Napoleon, he together with his crew—were conveyed to France being prisoners of War, and kept in captivity for four years; while there a powerful spiritual awakening took place amongst hundreds of prisoners, who prayed, and sang together. There was but one hymn-book amongst the many, and that was John Wesley's. My father had with him as his servant a young man who was a good penman, and he copied in a beautiful manner the whole of the hymns contained in the book. These were used at the meetings held, and afterwards bound together in the present form. This I consider is too precious to be lost, and therefore ask your acceptance of the same, if so it will afford me pleasure to know that it is in safe keeping to be placed amongst other things associated with Wesleyan Methodism"; (f. ii) *The Rev^d Charles Garrett gave this Book to R. Thursfield Smith, June 1899, Highfield, Whitchurch.* The volume was acquired, together with a large collection of Wesleyan printed works, from R. Thursfield-Smith.

750. [R. 73880.] NEW TESTAMENT. **Papers relating to "The Twentieth Century New Testament."**

*** A box containing a large number of papers relating to *The Twentieth Century New Testament. A translation into Modern English, made from the Original Greek* (*Westcott and Hort's text*), London, 1898, etc. The contents include: (*a*) circulars, mainly typed, sent to the scholars engaged on the work between 1891 and 1903; (*b*) a Secretary's notebook and various official papers relating to the preparation of the work; (*c*) a collection of short autobiographical details of the following workers, Henry Bazett, T. Sibley Boulton, W. Tucker Broad, John A. Barrow Clough, W. Copland, E. Bruce Cornford, William M. Crook, Peter William Darnford, George G. Findlay, Edward Deacon Girdlestone, Mary Higgs (née Kingsland), J. K. Homer, A. Ingram, Ernest de Mérindol Malan, S. Elizabeth Mee (née Butterworth), R. O. P. Taylor; (*d*) copies of a magazine (MS.) circulated among the workers; (*e*) groups of letters to Mrs. Higgs from Mr. Malan (1891-93) and the Rev. H. C. Leonard (1891-92), letters from Malan to Leonard, and letters from Mrs. Florence E. Booth, A. Gribbon, Mrs. Higgs, Mrs. Mee, Isaac Pitman, W. T. Stead, etc.; (*f*) notes on the history of the undertaking, balance sheets, news cuttings, etc. Given by Mrs. Mary Higgs, Bent House, Oldham.

751-840. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS.

*** This group of manuscripts was acquired for the Library from Arthur Hulme, Esq. Many of the manuscripts are described, or referred to, in *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights*, by George Unwin, with chapters by Arthur Hulme and George Taylor, M.U.P., 1924.

751. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Letters to Samuel Oldknow, etc.**

334 items. Various sizes. 1783-1812.

*** In a box, alphabetically arranged. The letters relate to business, domestic and personal matters.

752. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Invoices, statements of accounts, etc.**

350 items. Various sizes. 1782-1811.

*** In a box, alphabetically arranged. The documents are for the most part to Oldknow. They consist of invoices for work done or goods received, statements of accounts, delivery notes, receipts of all kinds, business receipts, receipts from surveyors of highways, etc. There is a small packet of slips recording payments due to workmen for work done, usually as members of a "wall gang" or "road gang" and evidently relating to a "New Turnpike Road on Mr. Oldknow's account." A small group consists of sales invoices and accounts copied from day books.

753. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Pay tickets.**

*** A box containing 3153 engraved pay tickets. Payable at Samuel Oldknow's Counting House between 6 Jan., 1789 and 11 Oct., 1794.

754. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Shop notes, etc.**

479 items, some very worn. Various sizes. 1793-94.

*** A box containing the following : (*a*) 324 shop notes, some partly printed, dated between 13 April, 1793 and 12 April, 1794, each note giving the amount paid, the place (Mellor), and the date, with the more or less common formula " Pay—or Order,—in Goods to that Amount. Sam[l] Oldknow," the indication " To the Shop " or " At the Shop," and the No. of the employee ; (*b*) 133 printed notes, filled in by hand and dated between 4 May and 20 July, 1793, each note giving the No. of the employee, the place (Mellor), and the date, with the heading " At Sam[l] Oldknow's Counting House Pay or Order the Balance of the Account " above a balance, usually signed " H. Mason for S.O.," on the credit side of which are the amounts earned by the workman, his family or household, and on the debit side items described under " Rent," " Cow," " Shambles Meat," " Potatoes &c.," " Coals," and " Sundry articles " ; and (*c*) twenty-two slips, including pay slips to Stockport workers for making caps, etc., and other records of payments.

755. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' ledger.**

Ff. 244. 318 × 200 mm. 1784-85.

*** Imperfect. The leaves are numbered 21-4, 26-42, 45-98, 98*, 99-241, 243-8, 251-3, 255-60, 262-6, 269-71, and there are two leaves of a later book. Several leaves are injured or partly torn away.

756. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Winders' accounts.**

Ff. 8. 406 × 160 mm. Aug., 1786-May, 1787.

*** Fragment only, f. 1 (part missing) is headed " Winding Acct., 1786."

757. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' taking-in book, etc.**

Ff. 135. 406 × 160 mm. 1786-89.

*** Imperfect, the condition of ff. 1-6 is very poor. The contents are : (*a*) ff. 1-84, described as " Weaving Account " and covering the period from Oct. 1786 to 23 May, 1787 (see *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights*, pp. 48-9 ; (*b*) ff. 84[v]-86[r], described as " Spinning Account " and covering the period from 1 Jan.-28 July, 1788 ; (*c*) ff. 88[v]-123 (*o.p.* 1-63, 66-71, 98) containing winders' accounts and covering the period from July, 1788, to Jan., 1789 ; (*d*) ff. 123[v]-135, described as " Winding Account " and covering the period from 16 Oct., [1786 ?] to May, [1787 ?]

758. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Spinners' ledger.**

Ff. 105. 406 × 160 mm. 1787-88.

*** Imperfect. The leaves are numbered 2-4, 7-20, 23-105, 107-114. Several leaves are decayed through damp.

759. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Cutting frames book.**

Ff. 15. 490 × 280 mm. Mar.-Oct., [1787].

*** A finishing or cutting frames book, recording work done on thirty frames.

760. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Spinners' account sheets.**

Ff. 36. Various sizes. 1788-92.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Ff. 1-12 have no headings, and relate to the period from 18 Sept. to 18 Nov., 1788; ff. 13-29 are headed "Spinning account" and mainly relate to the years 1788-92; and ff. 30-36 are mainly spinning accounts, with some accounts of winding and reeling, for the years 1789-90.

761. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Warping books.**

(i) Ff. 39. 320 × 204 mm. 1788-93.
(ii) Ff. 34. „ 1788-93.
(iii) Ff. 39. „ 1787-94.
(iv) Ff. 31. „ 1789-94.
(v) Ff. 32. „ 1787-94.
(vi) Ff. 35. „ 1787-93.
(vii) Ff. 32. „ 1788-91.
(viii) Ff. 8. „ 1788-91.
(ix) Ff. 34. „ 1787-93.
(x) Ff. 36. „ 1788-[91?].
(xi) Ff. 41. „ 1787-93.

*** 11 folio notebooks. These books were originally numbered 1, 2, 3, 6 (and 2), 7, 10, 11 (and 21), 12 (and 22), 16 (10 and 26), 17, 19 (17, 21 and 29). These numbers evidently indicate the mills of which these are the records. Several of the books are considerably decayed, especially No. X.

762. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' ledger.**

Ff. 59. 418 × 272 mm., etc. 1790.

*** Fragments only. They consist of the following: (*a*) ff. 1-5 are fragments of a ledger for 1790, the first four leaves being paginated 44-7, 350-1, 356-7; (*b*) ff. 6-41 (*o.p.* 837-906, 911-12) are payments for a ledger for 1790-91; (*c*) ff. 42-59 is part of an index (E-W) of names.

763. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' account sheets.**

Ff. 24. Various sizes. 22 Sept., 1790-30 May, 1792.

*** Separate sheets in a folder, headed "Weaving Account."

764. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Pickers' book.**

Ff. 54. 317 × 195 mm. Nov., 1790-April, 1791.

*** Stockport pickers. On ff. 33^{b}-34^{b} are accounts of spinners' "soft" and "hard" waste in early 1791.

765. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Pickers' book.**

Ff. 92. 190 × 155 mm. June, 1792-Jan., 1793.

*** Part of the book is decayed through damp.

766. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Pickers' bills, etc.**

Ff. 9. Various sizes. Oct., 1792-May, 1793.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Some are headed " Pickers bills."

767. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' stock books, etc.**

Ff. 18, 16. 200 × 162 mm. *c.* 1792-93.

*** Two small notebooks.

768. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weavers' accounts and payments books.**

(i) Ff. 42. 320 × 95 mm. 1-26 June, 1793.
(ii) Ff. 12. 374 × 80 mm. 28-29 June, 1793.

*** No. I is imperfect, with leaves torn away; ff. 35-41 are incomplete or blank, and on f. 42^{b} is a list of workers and amounts " paid as p^{r} Tickets " on 9 Aug., 1793. Part of No. II has been torn away.

769. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Spinners' weekly and fortnightly account book.**

Ff. 27. 340 × 205 mm., and smaller. Mar.-Dec., 1793.

770. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Reeling account.**

Ff. 6. Various sizes. 1793.

771. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Women spinners' account book.**

Ff. 47 (pp. 1-94). 322 × 198 mm. 1795.

772. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Warpers' books.**

(i) Ff. 12. 198 × 160 mm. Aug., 1804-April, 1805.
(ii) Ff. 6. 196 × 165 mm. July-Nov., 1805.
(iii) Ff. 19. 200 × 166 mm. Jan.-Oct., 1807.

*** Three small notebooks. No. III is described as " Warpers Delivery Book."

773. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account ledger for creditors and servants.**

Ff. 75 (*o.p.* 6-155). 233 × 183 mm. 1782-86.

*** Here and there are short summaries with headings such as " Anderton Cash Acct.," " Manufacturing Wages," etc.

774. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account book with day book of sales.**

Ff. 99 (*o.n.* 3-101). 410 × 158 mm. 1782-84.

*** There are sections headed " Cash Account " (ff. 6-17, 91^{v}-93), " Stock taken 11th August, 1783 " (ff. 48^{v}-51), " Fixtures and Utensils " (ff. 51^{v}-52), " Debts " (ff. 54^{v}-55), " Manufactured Goods Bro^{t} hither " (ff. 55^{v}-57^{v}), " Book debts owing " (58), " Small expences for Building " (f. 97^{v}), etc.

775. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Day book of sales.**

Ff. 286. 400 × 158 mm. June, 1786-Nov., 1787.

Imperfect, with old foliation 331-378, 381-453, 454-482 (parts of leaves torn away, but many of them preserved), 483-560, 586-631, 632-641 (not numbered), 647, 648.

776. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Day book of sales.**

Ff. 203. 404 × 160 mm. May-Nov., 1788.

*** Several entries are headed "Dr. to Sir Richard Arkwright in Interest."

777. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Day book of sales.**

Ff. 233. 400 × 160 mm. Mar., 1789-Feb., 1790.

*** Imperfect, with old foliation 2-5, 8-141, [142], 190-283.

778. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Ledger fragments, etc.**

Ff. 15. 400 × 160 mm., etc. c. 1789-90.

*** Ff. 1-9 are leaves of a day book, dated 9-12 Sept., 1789, 20-22 Feb., 1790, 18 June, 1790; ff. 10-15 are odd leaves of other ledgers.

779. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Order book.**

Ff. 11 (+ many blank). 325 × 100 mm. June, 1790-July, 1791.

*** Concerns business with Wells, Fisher & Co., London.

780. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account book.**

Ff. 44. 180 × 113 mm. Nov., 1801-July, 1811.

*** "Joshua Wrigley in account with Sam[l] Oldknow & Co."

781. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account ledger.**

Ff. 29. 317 × 198 mm. 1801-04.

*** Fragment only, containing leading accounts.

782. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Record of bills of exchange.**

Ff. 5. Various sizes. 1803-06.

*** In a folder. Lists of bills, with details regarding dates, to whom payable, by whom drawn, on whom drawn, etc.

783. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account ledger.**

Ff. 21. 363 × 235 mm. 1808-20.

*** Fragments only, with old pagination 311-14, 389-414, 431-42. They relate to large accounts.

784. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weight book.**

Ff. 6. 316 × 204 mm. June-Aug., 1788.

*** Records of weights of material, etc., numbered 1-9.

785. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account sheets.**

Ff. 10. Various sizes. 1790-92.

*** Separate sheets in a folder.

786. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Winding book.**

Ff. 29. 318 × 190 mm. Mar., 1791-Sept., 1794.

*** A record of winding done.

787. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Manufacture to spinning account book.**

Ff. 92. 406 × 160 mm. Dec., 1791-Mar., 1793.

*** A record of daily deliveries from Oldknow's spinning to his manufacturing departments. Ff. 1-7 are badly decayed through damp, and many other leaves affected.

788. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Manufacture to spinning account book.**

Ff. 41. 406 × 160 mm. May, 1793-June, 1794.

*** See MS. 787.

789. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Output records.**

Ff. 6. Various sizes. 19 Oct.-14 Dec., 1793.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Mellor records of "Twist Reeld and made up in 10 pound Bunches."

790. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Miscellaneous accounts.**

Ff. 7. Various sizes. 1797-1811.

*** Various records of sales of twist at the Manchester warehouse; of returns "of Sales at Manchester W(h)arfe for Samuel Oldknow Esq. by Joseph Allen, on credit"; etc.

791. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Monthly account sheets of Mellor mill.**

Ff. 12. Various sizes. 1807-12.

*** Separate sheets in a folder; f. 1 is for the period from 7 Nov. to 4 Dec., 1807, f. 2 for the period 18 May to 14 June, 1811, ff. 3-8 for the period 30 Nov. 1811, to 15 May, 1812, ff. 9-12 for the period 5 Sept.-25 Dec., 1812.

792. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Cutting account, deliveries, receipts, etc.**

Ff. 9. 483 × 150 mm. 1786-87.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Ff. 1-2 are headed "Cutting Account" and concern the period from 18 Sept.-21 Dec., 1786; ff. 3, 4^{v}, are headed "Sent to Croft," and are dated 13 Mar. and 12 June, 1787; ff. 5-5^{v} record "Cravatts" "Received from Sir R. Arkwright"; and ff. 6-9 cover the period from May-Nov. 1787.

793. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account book.**

Ff. 14. 490 × 135 mm. 18 June-31 Dec., 1787.

*** In three columns. Under separate days of the month and one of the headings "Weaving," "Winding" or "Spinning," are recorded lists of payments. Several leaves are affected by damp.

794. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Reed-making book, etc.**

(i) Ff. 15. 233 × 135 mm. 1787-89.
(ii) Ff. 31. 191 × 158 mm. 1789.

*** Two notebooks. No. I contains (*a*) "Reeds made and mended by M. Pollit," for the period 26 Sept., 1787-2 Feb., 1789, ff. 1-4; (*b*) "George Sharples Reed Acct.," 17 Oct., 1788-26 Feb., 1789, f. 4^{v}; (*c*) "J. Whitworth's Reed Account," 3-8 Oct., 1788, f. 7; (*d*) "John Welsh's Reed Account," 27 Sept., 1788-10 Mar., 1789, ff. 9-10. The book is badly affected by damp. No. II contains (*a*) "Reeds & Healds in Weavers Hands without work," ff. 1-3; (*b*) "Reeds & Healds in the Warehouse," ff. 3^{v}-11; (*c*) a record headed "Warps, 1789," ff. 24^{v}-18^{v}; (*d*) similar to (*c*) without heading, ff. 13-16; (*e*) a record headed "Weft, 1789," ff. 31^{v}-25^{v}.

795. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Finishing book.**

Ff. 16. 490 × 135 mm. Feb.-July, 1788.

*** The usual heading is "Goods for Finishing." The book is badly affected by damp.

796. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Costings books.**

(i) Ff. 65 + 1. 184 × 118 mm. *c.* 1788 (?).
(ii) Ff. 16. 189 × 116 mm. *c.* 1791.

*** Two notebooks. Several leaves of No. I are decayed through damp; No. II is imperfect, consisting of loose leaves.

797. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Weaving prices books.**

(i) Ff. 5. 315 × 198 mm. July, 1788.
(ii) Ff. 11. 308 × 190 mm. 1792.

*** Two notebooks.

798. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **List of prices of winding, etc.**

Ff. 14. 377 × 136 mm. 1788, etc.

*** A notebook containing (*a*) list of prices of winding, 17 Dec., 1788; (*b*) an index of workers' names; (*c*) amounts of various materials received, 1789; etc.

799. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Sizing account book.**

Ff. 8. 473 × 140 mm. June, 1788-July, 1789.

*** Part only, and a section covering 22 Dec., 1788 to 23 April, 1789 is missing.

800. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Delivery book.**

Ff. 6 (+ 2 blank). 312 × 200 mm. 1789.

*** Separate leaves in folder. Old pagination 2-7, 14-17.

801. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Delivery book.**

Ff. 27. 324 × 205 mm. 1789-91.

802. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Daily account of output.**

Ff. 39. 385 × 133 mm. May, 1790-Oct., 1791.

*** Usually headed "Sent up, Mr. Oldknow."

803. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Delivery sheets.**

Ff. 19. Various sizes. 1792-93.

*** Separate sheets in a folder, usually headed "Delivered from Croft."

804. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Monthly output book.**

Ff. 8. 240 × 188 mm. May-Sept., 1797.

*** This gives daily statistics.

805. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Carriers' book.**

Ff. 33. 173 × 103 mm. Oct., 1799-Aug., 1800.

*** Entries are usually headed "Messrs. Sam^{l} Oldknow & Co. Delivered to Mr. Geo. Haworth the undermentioned Packs."

806. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Cotton receipt book, &c.**

Ff. 13. 202 × 160 mm. Oct., 1803-Jan., 1804.

*** There are entries such as "came in Octo^{r} 24th, 1803," "Mixt Octo^{r} 25th, 1803," etc.

807. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Stretchers' work book.**

Ff. 14. 200 × 162 mm. 1805.

*** A notebook with statistics of weights, described as "Stretchers' Work Book."

808. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Output books.**

(i) Ff. 28. 327 × 197 mm. 1806-07.
(iii) Ff. 20. 326 × 205 mm. 1808-13.

*** Two notebooks. No. II is badly holed.

809. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Warp output book.**

Ff. 7. 226 × 188 mm. Feb.-Mar., 1810.

*** Partly decayed through damp.

810. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **List of piece goods wanting places in sales.**

Ff. 38. c. 305 × 93 mm. 1788.

*** A notebook, very badly affected by damp.

811. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Stock books.**

(i) Ff. 22. 191 × 156 mm. n.d. [? 1788].
(ii) Ff. 19. 190 × 155 mm. n.d. [? 1790].
(iii) Ff. 40. 192 × 156 mm. 1790.
(iv) Ff. 37. 188 × 154 mm.; 195 × 158 mm. 1791.

*** Four notebooks, No. IV consisting of two books sewn together. No. I, records stocks of weft, twist, and warps; No. II, stocks of weft, twist, warps, other materials, bobbins, etc.; No. III, "Stock of Materials in Weavers Hands, 24 Aug^{t}, 1790" (ff. 1-21), "Anderton Stock of weft," etc. (ff. 22-24), and stock of "Reeds and Healds" (ff. 30^{v}-37); and No. IV, "Stock taken 1st Septem^{r}, 1791" (ff. 1-20), other materials, "East India," pickings, etc. (ff. 21-23), "Cotton in Spinners Hands" (ff. 23^{v}-24), "Money owing Spinners" (f. 25), "Stock of Matterialls at Carrs. 1st Sep^{r}, 1791" (ff. 26-29), other fixtures and materials, etc.

812. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Stock books.**

(i) Ff. 8. 195 × 150 mm., etc. 1792.
(ii) Ff. 12. 208 × 165 mm. 11 July, 1793.
(iii) Ff. 16. 210 × 165 mm. July, 1793.
(iv) Ff. 7. 240 × 190 mm. 1794.

*** In four notebooks. No. I contains "Stock of Reeds and Geers for August, 1792" (ff. 1-5), "Reeds and Healds in Weavers Hands," n.d. (ff. 7-8); No. II, "Stock taken 11 July, 1793"; No. III, "Stock taken . . . July, 1793"; and No. IV, stocks of various materials. Nos. III and IV are badly affected by damp, No. IV consisting of loose leaves.

813. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Stock books.**

(i) Ff. 7. 240 × 192 mm. Mar.-June, [*post* 1797].
(ii) Ff. 4. 252 × 198 mm. 1 Sept., 1798.
(iii) Ff. 10. 198 × 124 mm. n.d. [c. 1800].
(iv) Ff. 7. 196 × 160 mm. n.d. [*post* 1800].
(v) Ff. 22. 125 × 102 mm. 1801-03.

*** In five notebooks. No. I contains "Stock of Twist," amounts sold, etc.; No. II, "Stock of Cotton &c. in the Mill, 1 September, 1798"; No. III, "Stock of Cotton in the Different stages," furnishings, "Counting House-Articles provided for the inhabitants and the Apprentices," "Debts owing by S.O.", etc.; No. IV, stocks of cotton, twist, etc.; and No. V, "Cotton bought, Twist sold," etc., in 1801-03; Nos. I and III are badly affected by damp.

814. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Stock sheets.**

(i) Ff. 22. 266 × 210 mm., etc. 1804-07.
(ii) Ff. 3. 230 × 188 mm. 1808.

*** No. I consists of sheets recording stocks of twist, cotton, etc., average weights, etc.; No. II of a fragment of a notebook recording "Stock of Sundries in diff^{t} Rooms, 1 Jan^{y}, 1808."

815. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Disgrace account, etc.**

Ff. 9. 470 × 263 mm. May-July, 1787.

*** A large notebook recording mistakes made by women workers, with a conduct report; also several women's separate "Cap Accounts."

816. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Time books.**

(i) Ff. 38. 325 × 200 mm. *c.* 1791-93.
(ii) Ff. 35. 205 × 160 mm. Oct., 1793-Jan., 1794.
(iii) Ff. 77. 195 × 163 mm. Nov., 1794-Mar. 1795.

*** Three notebooks, with times worked by warpers, winders, reelers, spinners, carders, rovers, drawers, cutters, smiths, filers, joiners, apprentices, etc. No. I is imperfect and several leaves are badly affected by damp. No. II has had a number of leaves roughly removed.

817. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Time books.**

(i) Ff. 20. 160 × 100 mm. Mar., 1796.
(ii) Ff. 20. 160 × 100 mm. April, 1796.
(iii) Ff. 10. 240 × 190 mm. Feb.-June, [1797 ?]
(iv) Ff. 11. ? × 186 mm. [1807 ?].
(v) Ff. 8. 188 × 155 mm. 1809.

*** Five notebooks. Nos. I and II contain "Names of the Hands off work" and the times; No. III, "Men at work at and for the Lime Kilns &c.", also times of carders, spinners, etc.; No. IV, times of spinners, carders, winders, etc.; and No. V, "Mens' Time working out of Doors in 1809." No. III is imperfect, and No. IV is very badly affected by damp.

818. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Records of Mellor shop notes, etc.**

Ff. 15. Various sizes. 1792-94.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Several are concerned with Mellor shop notes, f. 13 records "Heaton tickets in the Hands of B. Brooks," others are notes concerning wage payments.

819. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account book of shop notes delivered out at Mellor.**

Ff. 16. 310 × 200 mm. Dec., 1793-May, 1794.

820. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Miscellaneous wage sheets.**

Ff. 20. Various sizes. *c.* 1789-95.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. They consist of lists of wages and payments to workers, amounts debited for goods, milk, etc.

821. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Index of workers.**

Ff. 8. 305 × 190 mm. n.d. [1787 ?].

*** Fragment only, from D to T inclusive.

822. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Workers' account sheets.**

Ff. 4. Various sizes. 1791, 1794.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. Ff. 1-2 are " Bleachers Accts " for 1 and 25 June, 1791 ; ff. 3-4 are " Cotton Pickers Accts " for 24 July and 21 Aug., 1794.

823. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Miscellaneous wages book.**

Ff. 16. Various sizes. July, 1802-Mar., 1803.

*** A large number of slips pasted on leaves of brown paper. The slips record payments to farm workers, lime workers, coal workers, wood cutters, repairers and others for work usually out of doors.

824. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Wage payment papers.**

Ff. 47. Various sizes. 1803-11.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. They consist of (*a*) statistics relative to wage payments, etc., ff. 1-8 ; (*b*) statistics relative to wage payments between May, 1805, and April, 1806, ff. 9-33 ; (*c*) statistics relative to wage payments and average prices per 1000 hanks between Mar., 1811, and Dec., 1812, ff. 34-43 ; and (*d*) other statistics relative to average prices between Jan., 1811, and May, 1812, ff. 44-47. Both (*b*) and (*c*) have suffered greatly through damp, and (*b*) is evidently the remains of a companion ledger to MS. 825.

825. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Wages ledger.**

Ff. 20. 320 × 205 mm. Oct., 1810-July, 1811.

*** Statistics relative to wage payments.

826. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Miscellaneous papers.**

Ff. 25. Various sizes. 1782, etc.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. They include : (*a*) papers relative to the lime trade, dated 1782, etc., ff. 1-5 ; (*b*) notes relative to goods sent to and from Anderton, etc., dated 1788-92, ff. 6-9 ; (*c*) notes on transport of packages in 1788, f. 10 ; (*d*) a record of calico, etc., received in July, 1790, f. 11 ; (*e*) a record of " Roving sould " from Oct., 1792, to Feb., 1793, ff. 12-13 ; (*f*) " Heaton Rents paid by Mr. Parker to Wm. Egerton, Esq., prior to 16th of Nov., 1793," ff. 14-15 ; (*g*) statements, etc., relative to Mellor mill, 1797-98, ff. 16-19 ; (*h*) " Prices of Machine Twist," Sept., 1797, and Sept., 1798, ff. 20-22 ; (i) an estimate of Mellor mill (on the reverse of a letter from S. Oldknow to — Dewhurst, dated 24 Aug., 1798), ff. 23-24 ; and (*j*) " Stock taken at Manchester W(h)arfe," Jan. 3, 1810, f. 25.

827. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Miscellaneous papers.**

Ff. 38. Various sizes. n.d.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. They consist of (*a*) papers relative to patterns, manufacture, etc., ff. 1-10; (*b*) papers relative to weaving, etc., ff. 11-18; (*c*) "List of mule yarn," ff. 19-20; and various miscellaneous items, odd leaves of account books, etc. There is also a packet of samples of cloth, affected by damp.

828. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Note books.**

(i) Ff. 7. 173 × 107 mm. n.d. [c. 1800].
(ii) Ff. 4. 200 × 167 mm. Jan., 1802.
(iii) Ff. 12. 200 × 162 mm. Jan. and May, 1805.
(iv) Ff. 28. 167 × 107 mm. 1805.
(v) Ff. 26. 164 × 107 mm. 1806-07.

*** Five notebooks. No. I records "Debts owing Sam[l] Oldknow & Co." and "Debts owing by S.O. & Co."; No. II, the same for 1 Jan., 1802; No. III, the same for 1 Jan. and 1 May, 1805; No. IV, the same and miscellaneous items, 1805-06; and No. V, debts owing and miscellaneous items, mainly 1806-07.

829. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Note books.**

(i) Ff. 14. 164 × 100 mm. Jan.-May, 1795.
(ii) Ff. 26. 185 × 110 mm. 1801-02.
(iii) Ff. 27. 166 × 104 mm. 1803.
(iv) Ff. 12. 200 × 163 mm. Jan.-July, 1805.
(v) Ff. 13. 196 × 120 mm. Mar.-Sept., 1805.
(vi) Ff. 26. 166 × 96 mm. 1807.

*** Six notebooks. No. I records receipts and payments; No. II, sales, debts owing, bills of exchange, etc.; No. III, sales and miscellaneous items; No. IV, cloth for (workers ?); No. V, sales and cash receipts; and No. VI, miscellaneous accounts, debts owing, consignments, etc.

830. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Inventory of tools.**

Ff. 20. 153 × 98 mm. c. 1787.

*** "An inventory of Wm. Smithells's tools."

831. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS **Stone-getting book.**

Ff. 20. 165 × 99 mm. Aug.-Nov., 1800.

*** Record of "getting stone in Cobden," by David Wilson & Co.

832. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Brick sales book.**

Ff. 6. 173 × 105 mm. May, 1804-Oct., 1805.

833. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Accounts and payments for work at Bottoms Hall, &c.**

Ff. 28. Various sizes. 1787-93.

*** Separate sheets in a folder. They relate mainly to outdoor work, farm work, removing soil, tree felling, fence and bridge repairing, etc.; f. 27 is "an account of coals sold at Bothams Haa coalpit for Mr. Samuel Oldknow."

834. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Flesh book.**

Ff. 31. 163 × 102 mm. Oct., 1793-Oct., 1794.

835. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Account book.**

Ff. 16. *c.* 157 × 98 mm. 1812-13.

*** List of names with numbers indicating amounts (? of coal).

836. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Inventories of furnishings.**

(i) Ff. 12. 195 × 160 mm. n.d.
(ii) Ff. 7. 320 × 195 mm. n.d.

*** Two notebooks. No. I gives furnishings of the sale room, counting house, new counting house, packing rooms, taking-in room, weft room, cellars, size house, spinning rooms, engine room, etc.; No. II the furnishings of "Cotor House" (dyes, etc.), the cutting shop, machine room, print room, stove room, printing shop, "Callendar House," dye house, lower dye house, etc.

837. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Peak Forest Canal permits, coal delivery notes, etc.**

79 items. 1799-1807.

*** A folder containing printed permits (two sizes) issued to boats on the canal, and filled in with the number of the boat, the master's name, the contents [limestone or coal usually], places of loading and delivery, weight, distance in miles, and payment per ton. There are fourteen large size permits dated between 3 July, 1799, and 26 May, 1800, and thirty-two smaller permits dated between 23 Jan., 1805, and 7 April, 1807. There are also in the folder a shipping bill, a receipt of the Trustees of the late Duke of Bridgewater, and thirty-one filled in receipt forms for coals, bought of the Trustees of J. & J. Dodgson, dated at Hagbank between 7 Jan. and 15 May, 1805.

838. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Property-tax and rate papers, receipts, printed notices, etc.**

17 items. Various sizes. 1800-11.

*** In a folder. They concern Bradshaw Edge, High Peak, the Township of Manchester, Mellor, and the Township of Romiley. There are also two printed reward notices concerning the destruction of larches in Mellor, and a printed notice of a sale by auction at the Navigation Inn, Marple, on 27 Sept., 1798, of property in Stockport, Marple, Disley and Mellor, and of "an excellent Steam Engine, of Messrs. Boulton and Watts constructing."

839. [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Callicoes and other goods for sale at the East-India House, March sale, 1789.**

*** Printed list with MS. additions.

840 [R. 73730.] OLDKNOW PAPERS. **Prices book.**

Ff. 11. 373 × 243 mm. *c.* 1770.

*** Imperfect, and partly burned. Many individuals and firms, with what appear to be prices of goods, are recorded. Goods mentioned include various kinds of buckles, buttons, links, etc.

841-3. [R. 73881.] LETTERS. Bishops and Deans.

I. [841.] 1-147. Various sizes. xviith-xixth cent.
II. [842.] 148-262. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.
III. [843.] 263-381. Various sizes. xviith-xixth cent.

*** In three volumes, lettered "Portraits and Letters of English Bishops." The contents consist of letters, notes, signed documents, cut-away signatures, etc. Inserted are numerous engravings and other illustrations, portraits and caricatures. Nos. 1-322 are autographs of Archbishops and Bishops of the British Isles and Dominions; most of the others are autographs of Deans.

844-5. [R. 73882.] LETTERS. Presidents of the Wesleyan Conference.

I. [844.] 1-113. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth. cent.
II. [845.] 114-125. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

*** In two volumes. Each President from the time of John Wesley up to 1910 is represented by a letter, and one or more portraits.

846-54. [R. 73883.] LETTERS. Wesleyan Ministers.

I. [846.] 1-499. A-C.
II. [847.] 500-994. D-H.
III. [848.] 995-1212. I-L.
IV. [849.] 1213-1303. Ma-Mol.
V. [850.] 1304-1506. Moll-Pow.
VI. [851.] 1507-1866. Pow-S.
VII. [852.] 1867-2117. T-Wi.
VIII. [853.] 2118-2152. Wi-Wr.
IX. [854.] 2153-2161. Y.

} Various sizes. xviiith-xxth cent.

*** In nine volumes. Inserted are a large number of engravings, prints, photographs, etc., of many of the ministers. The volumes are labelled "Portraits and Letters of Wesleyan Ministers." There are also two large volumes labelled "Portraits of Wesleyan ministers," containing many hundreds of portraits.

855-6. [R. 73884.] LETTERS. United Methodist Ministers.

I. [855.] 1-206. A-La. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.
II. [856.] 207-356. Le-Y. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

*** In two volumes, labelled "Portraits and Letters of United Methodist Ministers." Many portraits have been inserted.

857-8. [R. 73885.] LETTERS. United Methodists.

I. [857.] 1-37. Various sizes. xixth cent.
II. [858.] 38-75. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

*** In two volumes, labelled "Letters and Portraits of some leading Laymen belonging to the United Methodist Free Churches." A number of portraits have been inserted.

859. [R. 73886.] LETTERS. **Chairmen of the Congregational Union.**

75 items. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

*** In one volume, labelled "Portraits and Letters of the Chairmen of the Congregational Union." The earliest chairman represented is the Rev. Joseph Gilbert (1833). Many portraits have been inserted.

860. [R. 73887.] LETTERS. **Congregational Ministers, etc.**

222 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

*** In one volume, labelled "Portraits and Letters of Congregational Ministers." Many portraits have been inserted.

861. [R. 73888.] LETTERS. **Baptist Ministers.**

88 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

In one volume, labelled "Portraits and Letters of Baptist Ministers." Many portraits have been inserted.

862. [R. 73889.] LETTERS. **Miscellaneous letters.**

87 items. Various sizes. xvith-xixth cent.

*** In one volume. Nos. 1-28 are letters, etc., of Roman Catholic Cardinals, Bishops, priests, etc.; Nos. 29-44 are letters, documents signed, or signatures of Lord Mayors of London; and Nos. 45-87 are letters of Presbyterian ministers. Many portraits and illustrations have been inserted.

863. [R. 73890.] LETTERS. **Temperance workers, editors, etc.**

84 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

*** In one volume, lettered "Portraits and Letters of Temperance worthies, editors and publishers." No. 1-28 are letters from Temperance workers; Nos. 29-70 are from publishers and editors; and Nos. 71-84 are from Unitarian Ministers. Many portraits and illustrations have been inserted.

864 [R. 73891.] LETTERS. **Miscellaneous letters, etc.**

74 items. Various sizes. xviiith-xixth cent.

*** In one volume. This miscellaneous collection includes letters from, or documents signed by, clergymen, bankers, authors, politicians, officials, antiquarians, engineers, etc.

865. [R. 73896.] LETTERS. **Presidents of the Wesleyan Conference.**

80 items. Various sizes. xviii-xxth cent.

*** In one volume. There are letters, occasionally with portraits, of most of the Presidents from Alexander Mather (1792) to Marshall Hartley (1903). Former owner: R. Thursfield-Smith.